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ABSTRACT

One of a series on Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program models, this monograph provides professionals employed in CETA programs with information on how job recruiting and searches take place to help them improve their job placement and development skills. The content is in four sections. The first section briefly covers the placement function and includes general definitions and a definition of job development. Section two on historical perspectives covers the tools, techniques, and stances of the employment services, the social changes beginning in the 1960's and their impact on the placement role of the employment service, approaches to the employer, and perceptions of the client. The third section is on labor exchange processes and employability development strategies; various methods for recruitment and job search are discussed along with placement strategies for each of seven recruitment job search levels. (Included is a Recruitment Job Search Model which represents the job vacancies broadcast by employers and the place where job seekers must be in order to hear the broadcast.) These search levels consist of the following: the internal job market, contacting the employer directly, personal contacts, the closed systems, and the public intermediary market (private employment agencies, employment service, and want ads). The last section covers agency roles and CETA goals in placement, reexamining the quality of placement, making the placement function more professional, and reexamining the medical model. (EM)

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Job Development and Placement: CETA Program Models

U.S. Department of Labor
Ray Marshall, Secretary

Employment and Training Administration
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Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training

1978

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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SPECIAL NOTE

This monograph is one of a series entitled *CETA Program Models* prepared for the Employment and Training Administration's Office of Community Employment Programs with financial support by the Office of Research and Development. The series is divided into two parts. One, on program activities and services, was prepared under contract number 81-11-71-09 with the National Council on Employment Policy and edited by Garth Mangum of the University of Utah.

The monographs being issued or prepared for publication in this part of the series are *On-the-Job Training* by James Bromley and Larry Wardle; *Job Development and Placement* by Miriam Johnson and Marged Sugarman; *Classroom Training—The OIC Approach* by Calvin Pressley and James McGraw; *Supportive Services* by Susan Turner and Carolyn Conradus; *Intake and Assessment* by Lee Bruno; *Work Experience Perspectives* by Marion Pines and James Morlock; and *Public Service Employment* by Ray Corpuz. Others may be added as circumstances warrant.

The authors, experienced employment and training program operators themselves, review the purposes and means of carrying out CETA functions and comment on methods they have found useful in conducting programs and avoiding pitfalls. The series is commended not only to program operators and their staffs, but also to community groups and other manpower services professionals in the hope that this information will enable more people to learn about CETA programs, stimulate new ideas, and contribute to improving the quality of employment and training programs.

The second part of the series deals with innovative programs conducted under title VI of CETA. At present, the only monograph in this part is *CETA Title VI Project Description Reports*. It was prepared under contract number 82-37-71-47 with MDC, Inc., of Chapel Hill, N.C. Additional reports describing other innovative programs are planned.

The series should not be regarded as official policy or requirements of the U.S. Department of Labor. Although every effort has been made to assure that the information is consistent with present regulations, prime sponsors are urged to consult current regulations before adopting changes the authors may advocate. The authors are solely responsible for the content.

Copies of other titles in the series may be obtained from:

Office of Community Employment Programs
Employment and Training Administration
U.S. Department of Labor
601 D Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20213

Reader comments and suggestions are welcomed and may be sent to the above address.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

During Miriam Johnson's 18 years in the California Public Employment Service she was the agency's first full-time State minority specialist, instrumental in developing its affirmative action program. Later, she managed an Adult Opportunities Center in a San Francisco poverty area where she directed, tested, and exported innovative programs for less competitive jobseekers.

Since 1971, Ms. Johnson has participated extensively in research and evaluations of labor market intermediary institutions and delivery systems. She is a public member of the advisory board to the Bureau of Employment Agencies, a regulatory body for the private employment agency industry under the California Department of Consumer Affairs. Ms. Johnson is author of *Counterpoint* and *The Workshops* (see bibliography), and two works in process, *A Bi-Focal View of the Labor Market*, and *Want Ads as a Labor Market Intermediary*, the latter prepared for the National Commission on Employment Policy.

Marged Sugarman has extensive experience in the development and delivery of information supporting local placement, job development, and job search activities. From 1969 to 1971, she was responsible for a localized employer information system for job development and placement use by California Employment Service staff. She developed for the agency a system of localized job search information maintained by jobseeker users. From 1974 to 1976, she and Miriam Johnson studied the role of Employment Service job listings and newspaper help wanted ad in the local market. In 1975, with John Walsh and Ms. Johnson, she wrote *Help Wanted: Case Studies of Classified Ads* (see bibliography). She is currently working with the Employment Service Potential project in California to develop measures of hiring activity needed for agency placement and employer relations.

PREFACE

In this study, the perimeters of the job development and placement functions in employability development programs are limited to those activities that result in direct, indirect, and self-directed placements into unsubsidized employment. Job creation efforts, placement into subsidized employment, or other positive participant terminations are not included.

Before deciding on what their main focus should be, the authors solicited the opinions of CETA prime sponsors, subcontractors, and employment service staff in the San Francisco Bay area. It was the general feeling of our advisers that the document should be mainly an educational one, designed to raise the level and scope of interest of professional competence. Greater understanding and knowledge of the substance—the task itself— seemed more urgent than concerns with form– administrative structures or delivery systems.

In any case, an administrative model that would have relevance for most readers would be difficult to devise because placement under CETA occurs in such a variety of settings—a neighborhood center, an employment service local office, a skills trainings center, or a prime sponsor's office. Placement and job development tasks fall not only to placement interviewers, but to job developers, training instructors, counselors and assessors.

In the author's opinion, professionals in this field should have a background knowledge of earlier placement experiences, an understanding of how the labor market operates, an insight into the problems and motivations of both employers and clients, and access to an array of techniques for achieving clearly delineated goals. This study therefore traces the placement function historically, drawing lessons for today's practitioner from the mistakes as well as successes, of the past. It represents one model of how job recruiting and job searches take place, and suggests strategies that might be useful to program planners. Recommendations stress raising the quality of CETA placements, infusing a more professional approach into the placement functions, and developing the self-help capabilities of clients.

The controversy surrounding the relative roles of the CETA prime sponsor, the employment service, and other CETA subcontractors is directly relevant to the placement function and, inevitably, we are drawn into that arena. Despite recent efforts to effect cooperative agreements, the terrain does not yield well to a facile demarcation of roles based on semantics or even mandates. Quite plainly, the roots of this controversy lie in far deeper soil than is often acknowledged, and it is not within the responsibility or the capability of the authors to deal exhaustively with the subject. Nevertheless, an examination of the history of placement experiences in employability programs may help clarify some of the questions without laying claim to providing answers.

We have tried to draw together here the principles underlying placement operations that successfully move individuals into jobs from which they would otherwise be excluded. And we hope also that this view of the world, past and present, in which they perform their functions will serve to heighten the consciousness of program operators.

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I. THE PLACEMENT FUNCTION

An employability development program may be defined as a group of discrete activities designed to enhance the position of an individual in the labor market. The various components that constitute such programs have evolved through the years, and most are optional in the sense that they may or may not include an outreach effort, occupational skills training, various supportive services, and counseling. The one activity, however, that is *never* optional, without which all other components lose meaning and value, is placement—the movement of a program participant into a job.

Placement is the most visible function because it *is* the goal of most employability development legislation. The bottom-line purpose of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, for example, is "to assure that training and other services lead to maximum employment opportunities and enhance self-sufficiency. . . ."[1] Therefore, the placement of an individual into a job that meets this criterion is the measure of all program accomplishments.

Of all employability development components, however, placement is the most vulnerable to other considerations. Moreover, as the last step in the employability process, it is seldom isolated or treated as a separate entity in the literature. Success in placing participants is intimately related to both economic conditions and the conduct of all prior program activities. Indeed, no placement operation, however well planned or executed, can be expected to overcome completely adverse economic conditions or bad selection criteria, a poor assessment process, ineffectual training, or training in unsuitable occupations. On the other hand, there are examples of training programs with laudable placement and retention records whose success has depended, not upon exemplary placement techniques, but rather on the fact that they were closely linked to particular employers and unions that provided a natural market for the graduates. Such programs do not offer us a model of a placement operation that has universal applicability.

The purpose of this monograph is to share the lessons learned from the past about the placement activity with the program operator of today, and to apply those lessons to the realities of the labor exchange processes within which CETA programs must operate.

[1]Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973, sec. 2, p. 1.

General Definitions

To the uninitiated, "placement" appears to be a fairly unambiguous term, suggesting that a third party is involved in facilitating the process by which a jobseeker obtains a job. A review of past and present definitions, however, provides a perspective on the changing goals of the Nation's employability development efforts, and particularly on the constraints inherent in legal mandates under which agencies operate.

The mission to the public employment service under the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 was to provide a *labor exchange*—a marketplace where buyers and sellers of labor could meet and effect transactions, with the agency acting as a broker. Traditionally, the definitions of placement and the conditions under which the employment service could take credit for a placement reflected that marketplace image. For a person entering a job to be counted as a placement, several steps had to be taken:

1. An open job order had to be listed by the employer in the local office.
2. An applicant had to come to the office and be registered for work by filling an application card.
3. The applicant, either by personal contact or as a result of a file search, had to be selected and referred by the agency to the employer.
4. The applicant had to be hired and working.

And all of the following elements had to be present before credit for a "hire" could be claimed: (1) job order, (2) registered applicant, (3) selection, (4) referral, and (5) verification that the person had reported for work.

A match—which occurred because a staff member arranged an interview for a client with an employer who had not listed a job opening or had referred clients to companies known to be hiring—did *not* count as a placement because the order was not on file. Nevertheless, placement-hungry office interviewers often converted such orders and referrals into placements. Staff members are generally disinclined to spend time on activities for which no administrative credit is given, irrespective of the value to the client.

Although the years have produced some softening of definitions, the criteria for measuring employment service placement rates are still based primarily on the market image,

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generated by the labor exchange mandate of the enabling legislation. Providing sorely needed labor market information to the jobseeker or teaching the timid and unknowledgeable how to make a more effective search for work is still not measured or counted as an agency accomplishment, even if it is theoretically encouraged. Moreover, the means by which job openings come to the attention of the agency is still critical in gauging its capacity to fulfill the exchange mandate. Hence, the employment service must know whether the job listing was initiated by the employer or by the interviewer, or mandatorily listed by the employer in conformity with an Executive order.

The questions suggested to the program operator by the legislation and the definitions might be: Do individual buyers of labor use our marketplace? Do they do so of their own volition, or do we have to find then, or were they forced? Does our supply satisfy their needs?

An interesting incongruity to contemplate, and one which bears further exploration, is the fact that despite a decade during which the employment service was *the* agency charged with an essentially corrective role, despite its experimentation with models for motivating and educating the less competitive jobseeker, its gauges for measuring accomplishment still remain firmly imbedded in the pure labor-exchange model. As a result, experiment after experiment has fallen by the wayside because it could not be validated in terms of traditional placement definitions.

Not so with CETA. CETA is free of such contraints. CETA is not legally charged with the *labor exchange intermediary* role. The passage of the Act provided funds to organizations and agencies whose principal mission is essentially corrective—to overcome those characteristics in individuals which have been diagnosed as impediments to a more advantageous and competitive position in the labor market. The task is one of "treating" what is regarded as pathologies in relation to the world of work with the law providing for a variety of remedial steps. For that reason, CETA placement definitions are based on a treatment clinic model rather than on the labor exchange model that dominates employment service operations.

The umbrella measure of accomplishment in CETA is *entering employment,* the definition of which includes all participants who were placed in, or who obtained, unsubsidized employment. Within this category, *direct placements* refer to participants who were placed in unsubsidized employment after receiving only outreach, intake, and job referral services from the CETA program; *indirect placements* include those who were placed in unsubsidized employment through means other than placement by the prime sponsor or its agents.

The CETA definitions appear to be measuring the degree to which its remedial, or treatment mission is fulfilled. Hence, the *direct placement* identifies a job match initiated by the agency for the "untreated" participant, which is essentially a labor exchange function, while the *indirect placement* identifies the match which occurs after one or more of the remedies are applied.

In addition, if an individual has been a participant in components defined as corrective (i.e., training or supportive services) and that individual subsequently obtains employment through means other than placement by the prime sponsor or its agent, it is assumed that such a positive outcome is attributable to the treatment provided to the individual. Thus "obtained employment" is counted as an agency accomplishment, though not as a placement.

In CETA, the underlying questions implied by the definitions and the legislation might be: Is the person impaired? Did we diagnose? Did we treat? Is the person walking now?

Unlike the employment service, there is no indication that CETA is concerned with *how* the job (on which a participant is placed) was unearthed, whether from the job bank, the classroom instructor, the efforts of a job developer, or the jobseeker's own efforts, so long as the contact with CETA is followed by hiring.

Job Development Defined

The term job development is perhaps more ambiguous than those discussed above, and it has undergone considerable changes in meaning, depending upon the agency, the policies, and the times. The current definition taken from the employment service field office manual[2] states:

> Job Development—(1) the activity that involves working with public or private organizations and business to develop job opportunities. Also (2) the process of soliciting a public or private employer's order for a specific applicant for whom the field office has no suitable opening currently on file.

The second activity is conducted by the front-line interviewer when dealing directly with an individual applicant, and for many years it was the only definition of job development in common usage in the employment service. The other, broader activity is less contained and has generated considerable differences in interpretation through the years. To a large measure, it has come to mean influencing the employer's recruitment processes so as to direct the flow of jobs to a particular agency for the benefit of the clientele.

In a broader sense, job development activities have been aimed at the redistribution of existing job opportunities, at redefining their specifications and entry requirements to permit *access* to the disadvantaged. Together with other community groups, efforts have been directed at altering employer policies that act as artificial barriers against hiring and upgrading the less competitive segments of the work force. Such activities have produced changes in testing criteria and the relaxation of rigid exclusions in civil service, among others. Since the advent of occupational training programs, job development may involve the efforts of a program operator to obtain the prior commitment of employers to hire a specified number of graduates.

The broader definition of job development may be carried out by an individual interviewer or job developer but can also be conducted by upper levels in the hierarchy, or by the combined efforts of various subcontractors or community groups.

[2] *Job Development—Instructor's Guide* (Sacramento, Calif.: California State Employment Development Department, 1975), p. 1-1.

In the history of employability development programs, the terms job creation and job development have often suffered from a confusing intermingling of meanings which becomes evident when the literature of the 1960's is reviewed. The creation of new jobs takes many forms: creating new demands for goods and services and, thereby, a derived demand for labor, dividing job tasks (as was done in the medical field), reducing the work week, and providing temporary new jobs through public service employment. All represent a considerably different approach to the marketplace from that of developing access for the disadvantaged, which is essentially a redistribution of existing opportunities.

CETA regulations make a clear distinction between the two types of activities by grouping job development and job placement together and, in another section of the regulations, describing job creation activities. From an operational standpoint, that separation makes sense. Each involves different techniques and is usually carried out by different types of personnel in the employer's enterprise and in the service agency.

2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The history of the broker or middleman in bringing together a worker and a job can be traced back to the formation of this country. The role was played by those who induced emigrants to leave their homelands for the land of opportunity; by the labor contractors who supplied laborers to farms, construction sites, railroads, mines, and docks; by the women's domestic agencies; and by the white-collar oriented private employment agencies of today.

The passage of the Wagner-Peyser Act propelled the government into a labor exchange intermediary role. Through its provisions, a Federal-State employment service system was established with offices in most of the Nation's communities. A systematic development of tools, methods, and techniques followed, appropriate for dealing with all types of workers and jobs. In the near half-century of its existence, the system has accumulated a considerable body of experience and knowledge about the labor exchange function in the job market.

Among the traditional placement techniques and strategies in use by most employment service installations at the onset of the 1960's—many of which are still operative today—three functions are of particular relevance to placement within a CETA program: The matching of job applicants to listed job openings; the conduct of the outside sales function performed by employer relations representatives (ERR's); and the methods used to develop job opportunities for individuals and groups where no appropriate job openings were listed. Although the effectiveness of employment service installations vary from place to place, and despite frequent changes in policy and structure, the well-documented inventory of techniques developed to perform those three functions has remained relatively intact. It represents an arsenal of knowledge, tools, and strategies from which program operators in CETA can learn. A careful examination of these functions not only provides historical perspective but also serves to describe a basic placement model for those readers who are relatively new to the field and are unfamiliar with employment service processes.

The decade of the 1960's was a period of massive change in the country's economic and social climate, and in the orientation of policymakers and administrators. Perceptions about the nature and causes of poverty and racial exclusion were markedly altered. These changing perceptions were expressed through endless manipulation of legislation, administrative structures, executive orders and, in particular, delivery systems, the most recent being CETA.

Although such intensive social experimentation is a tribute to a dynamic and responsive society, eager to dare and willing to risk error, it is questionable whether all of this reworking of *form* has significantly changed the *substance* of what is delivered to the individual client by the front-line staff, irrespective of agency.

The Tools, Techniques, and Stances of the Employment Service

In its mainstream placement operation, the employment service of a decade ago essentially accepted the market as it was. Its role was to satisfy the employer's need to locate the most desirable, best qualified worker from among its registered applicants without significantly altering either jobseeker skills or employer expectations. This required a systematic approach to the assessment of worker and job, and a body of manuals and staff training documents emerged.

To enhance the development of staff expertise, responsibility for job orders and applicants was most often divided by groups of occupations, occasionally by industry. Short-term jobs, such as in domestic and casual labor, were often handled separately. Occupational groups were assigned either to an entire office, to sections within an office, or to single interviewers, depending upon the size of the office.[3]

Employment service offices provided additional services to selected applicants with special problems. Employment counseling was offered to individuals who needed to choose or change occupations. Designated interviewers dealt with the special employment problems of the physically handicapped,

[3]Although computerization has since tended to eliminate occupational specialization, there is increasing evidence of a return to the earlier model.

the veteran, the older worker, and, in some areas, youth. Selected interviewers were assigned the job of outside employer relations representatives. Tools and techniques appropriate to each of these activities were developed, and staff members were trained in their use.

Traditional Placement—the Matching Function

The primary responsibility of the placement interviewer was to define the requirements of the job openings he or she received and to fill them with qualified applicants. For this, the employment service developed techniques to appraise the jobseeker's work history skills and education and to assess the tasks and skill requirements of the job. Both job and applicant were assigned the code that best reflected these factors from the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (DOT).[4] This coding was, and still is, the critical first step in the process of matching qualified applicants to job openings by the file search method.

Good placement interviewers developed a following of employer "gatekeepers" who had confidence in their selections. Retaining the employer's business ensured a high placement count, and placement interviewers strove to give the employer exactly what was wanted. In such an atmosphere, less skilled or racially unacceptable applicants were, of necessity, given short shrift.

Placement interviewers were given intensive training in the DOT coding system, in occupational variables, and in industrial classification. Staff people were also trained in interviewing techniques, in the use of job order and application forms, and in approaches to employers. Understanding labor market processes figured lightly in agency training programs, since the alteration of the market's configuration was not part of the mission. However, staff generally absorbed knowledge about local labor markets through continuous dealings with applicants and employers.

Employer Relations—the Outside Sales Function

The agency's employer relations program also reflected its view of the market as immutable. As in placement, the approach to the program's activities was thoroughly manualized. Responsibility for contact with local firms (mainly those with a large work force) was distributed in a structured and orderly manner. In some offices, the employment relations representative was assigned sole responsibility for a group of employers, playing the role of account executive.

The approaches used to persuade employers to list their openings with the employment service and, more desirably, to use the employment service exclusively, were all spelled out by the manual. The agency established a battery of aptitude and proficiency tests as a basis for selection. Test-selected applicants were offered as a service to employers, whether exclusive users or not. Major selling points to the employer were a highly qualified applicant supply, a savings in recruitment time and cost, and assistance in reducing undesirable turnover.

The *Employer Relations Handbook*[5] contains the concepts, management considerations, employer contact techniques, and recordkeeping tasks that govern the employer relations program. The handbook's approach to developing a flow of jobs through the employment service is to identify the needs of the individual employer and to describe those needs in a "plan of service," which is evolved during the course of personal visits and other contacts.

The handbook maps a general strategy to be followed by the employer relations representative, who is instructed to:

1. Use the employer's plan of service to define a specific objective for the meeting.
2. Prepare by becoming knowledgeable of the employer's operation and needs, the plan of service, and employment service capabilities.
3. Ensure that individual ERR's conduct their business with those in the firm who have hiring authority.
4. Present to the employer the advantages of using the employment service.
5. Persuade the employer to discuss his or her needs.
6. Present specific examples of the way the employment service could meet those needs.
7. Overcome employer objections.
8. Bring the contact with the employer to a clear conclusion.
9. Document the visit on the employer record card.
10. Perform any follow-up needed.

Few sales manuals lay out the job and the techniques leading to success in more detail.

Documentation of contacts on an employer record card was an important part of the employer relations program. Theoretically, the employer record card represented a long-term accumulation of detailed local labor market information. In reality, the records ran the gamut from being a rich source of information about the firm's size and activity, the persons responsible for hiring, the main types of workers employed, the employer's idiosyncracies, and the history of the firm's experiences with the agency, to the other extreme—a motley collection of contact dates and remarks regarding employer reaction to the visit.

Advocacy—the Job Development Function

The development of job opportunities for an individual or group of clients for whom there were no listed openings was, and still is, either performed by the placement interviewer for the mainstream applicant or by the specialist for a selected applicant group with special employment problems. The Job applicant group with special employment problems. The *Job Development—Instructor's Guide*[6] provides insight into how opportunity for a particular individual. Two cardinal rules

[4] *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (4th ed., Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, 1977.

[5] *Employer Relations Handbook*. (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, 1975).

[6] *Job Development—Instructor's Guide* (Sacramento, Calif.: California State Employment Development Department, 1975), p. 1-2.

have been developed: (1) the successful job development is always *individualized*, and (2) its goal is a job *interview*, rather than a job *commitment*.

The strategy mapped out for the successful job development telephone contact, since it too is of a sales nature, contains many of the same elements as the employer relations contact, except that the emphasis is on selecting an employer known to hire such people as the applicant, and the "sales" pitch revolves around the positive features of the person, emphasizing the applicant's skills, appearance, work history, and special attributes of potential value to the employer.

The *Guide* further suggests that the job developer refrain from introducing problem areas and meet the employer's objections with positive responses. At the first sign of positive employer responses, the developer arranges the interview and then quickly and courteously ends the conversation.

In the employment service, the job developer whose tasks most nearly approximated the array of competencies now required of the job developer in CETA was the "selective placement interviewer," a regular interviewer assigned the additional task of serving the physically handicapped. The function required a fund of knowledge about occupations and employers, and the assembly of a considerable amount of information about the client. The desk of the selective placement interviewer was likely to hold a collection of medical dictionaries, books, and publications on the physically handicapped, as well as the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* and local occupational guides. On the desk could also be found file boxes with separate cards for each employer either known to hire the handicapped or regarded as a potential lead. Each contained detailed information about working conditions in that firm, with particular reference to various handicapping conditions—the presence or absence of elevators and ramps, for example—as well as the full spectrum of occupations employed by that firm.

The assessment of the handicapped client required an appraisal of the limitations and special considerations imposed by the handicap in relation to the individual's education, skills, and experience. Often the interviewer talked with the applicant's physician or training instructor, if either were involved. The selection of an employer for contact was preceded by a careful study of the cards in the file box. The selective placement interviewer's role with the employer was one of advocacy, stressing what the applicant *could* do or could *learn* to do, although a straightforward discussion of the handicap was necessary.

The selective placement interviewer actively participated with various community organizations to raise community consciousness about the needs of the handicapped, to overcome employer prejudices, and to induce employers to lift hiring barriers that resulted in exclusion.

Although the employment service is required to provide a labor-exchange service for all employers and all jobseekers, it also has been accepted, since its inception, to be an advocate for various segments of the work force who were in some way "handicapped" in competing for jobs: the young, the armed forces veteran, and the older worker, as well as those who are physically handicapped.

Each CETA program, with its own special target population, is heir to such an advocacy.

Winds of Change

The 1960's were marked by surging demands from blacks for an end to their systematic exclusion from mainstream America. The freedom rides and sit-ins of the organized civil rights movement, the more ominous explosions in the ghettos of large cities—all had lasting impact on every aspect of American life. In 1964, Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act that declared war on poverty and provided the framework for political power through the organization of community action agencies within the poverty communities. Traditional agencies of government were confronted with the demand that they extend their services to the poor.

Every institution in the country, particularly those in the public sector, was forced to face the stark inadequacy and inappropriateness of its services to racial and ethnic minorities. Moreover, government institutions began to examine their own complicity in perpetrating and maintaining exclusion. Painful reappraisals began as educators reexamined their college admissions policies, and the hidden prejudices expressed in children's textbooks were revealed. Social workers were given crash courses in ethnic consciousness, and examples of unequal applications of laws were regularly described in the columns of the daily newspapers.

An issue second only to voting rights and equal admittance to public facilities was the position of the black work force in the job market. Plagued as black workers were with high unemployment and relegated to the low paid, menial job market, their occupational upgrading was defined as a major priority. Legislators and policymakers worked quickly to respond. A ready vehicle available to them was the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), enacted in 1962 in response to a different set of concerns.

The original intent behind the Act had been to train people out of work because of technological change for occupations in which workers were in short supply. The belief that this country was faced with a serious shortage of skilled workers had grown out of an earlier shock given the United States by the Soviet Union's first space launch. Academicians and theorists demonstrated the need for legislation of this kind by pointing to the putative paradox of swollen pages of help wanted ads appearing at the same time that the employment service offices were burgeoning with jobseekers. The formula for correcting imbalances in the marketplace seemed simple: train the technologically displaced to fill skill shortages.

The record reveals that the formula broke down early in the course of implementation. First then as well as now, there was no workable methodology for defining skill shortage occupations in the local labor market. More importantly, the target population changed from those who had been displaced to those who had never been allowed in, as the fear of being technologically surpassed by foreign powers gave way to the

fear of Americans burning their own cities. As experience with MDTA grew, it became obvious that the formula was conceptually faulty. The costs, the restrictions in length of training, the difficulties in obtaining training facilities and instructors for special occupations, the low skill and education levels of the new target population—all worked against the goal of training individuals to approach the level of skill where employers might experience shortages. Thus the goal changed from training for skill shortages to training in occupations in which there was a "reasonable expectation of employment." After all that experience, it is difficult to fathom why the CETA legislation of 1973 still contains the same skill shortage mythology.

Impact on the Placement Role of the Employment Service

The passage of MDTA marked a major shift in the labor market role assigned to the public employment service, giving it responsibility for a new mission: to manipulate and change the supply side of the market to fit the demand. This was a radical departure from its traditional stance.

As the focus of MDTA was redirected toward the disadvantaged, so the national employment service began to shift its entire operation toward serving the needs of the poor. Thus it was that the agency found itself in an essentially dichotomous position: on the one hand, as a corrective agency acting on behalf of the less competitive jobseeker, it was expected to assume the function of aggressive advocacy; on the other hand, it was not relieved of its role as a labor exchange intermediary—operating in a free marketplace—where success depends upon a voluntary flow of jobs from employers who are seeking fully qualified, "desirable" workers.

To the front-line staff, the dilemma was immediately evident. How could the employer relations representative in a local office, for example, continue to "sell" test-selected applicants at the same time that the same office was hiring community workers to find the hardcore unemployed in the bars and pool halls? How could an occupational code serve adequately to describe or distinguish between clients in a file that consisted of applicants who, for the most part, had no skills (such as in offices established in the poverty neighborhoods)?

Responses of the agency to the changed direction varied widely throughout the country. In some areas, employment service staff developed highly imaginative techniques for dealing with both client and employer and in evolving unique training programs; in others, the local office style, attitude, and focus remained static and entrenched.

Eventually, the inherent conflict between the two roles forced the agency into what its detractors argued was ineffectiveness in both. The agency became the object of widespread dissatisfaction, charged both with a disregard for the needs of the employer community and with falling down on the job of solving the employment difficulties of the poor and the minorities. We must leave it to historians to assess whether it was the agency or the complexity of the problem itself which proved more obdurate.

A rash of national programs tailored to the needs of special target groups and bearing an imposing array of initials, each with a different delivery system, had tumbled headlong out of the National and some State capitols through legislative and administrative fiat. National and community organizations and administrative entities rapidly proliferated. Although challenged and often disputed, the employment service retained its role as presumptive deliverer of employability services. With the passage of CETA, the fragmentation of effort became even more evident as a large number of subcontractors operated within comparatively small geographic boundaries. Whether this decentralization will prove to be more effective or less effective in moving people into a better position in the labor market, only time and experience will tell.

There is little to be gained by detailing the shifts in programs and delivery systems, except in relevance to the establishing of placement and job development techniques. The past 15 years has seen a spate of experimentation with new ideas and new ways of providing services. The wide exportation of these innovations have not always been accompanied by careful scrutiny. At times, the field has suffered from a type of "faddism" without giving adequate time or attention to the effectiveness of every shift. Each effort, however, has left a residue, a new concept that is added to the list of activities that are deemed to be essential components of an employability development program, and is carried forward into the next phase of the subsequent piece of legislation. Unfortunately, the necessary reassessment and culling has not always taken place. Thus it is that CETA retains concepts of questionable viability, such as training in skill shortages, or "outreach," for example.

A diversity of functions has been given umbrella terms which are in common use but which carry with them only loose associations with actual program content. What is lost is the flavor, the "how to," the original description of the techniques used; the problems encountered and overcome, and the awaiting pitfalls. The legacy of tools inherited by CETA operators from the era of categorical employability programs would be impressive if the richness of experience could be inherited with them. As terms they mean little and inform little.

Changing Approaches to the Employer

The shift of direction away from passive acceptance of the prejudices of the marketplace to aggressive advocacy for the minority poor was accompanied by changes in *what* was asked of employers and in *how* they were asked. In marketing terms, program operators changed both the "product" being sold and the "sales approach" used.

The initial thrust centered on overcoming employers' racial prejudices and fears, and the approach used by practitioners was the offer of assistance to employers in integrating their work forces. For example, the California State Employment Service, in the early 1960's, well before the passage of National equal employment opportunity legislation, installed a Statewide minorities policy and program that committed the agency to an aggressive effort to eliminate discriminatory practices among its own staff, as well as to play an affirmative action role with employers. A minorities specialist, designated in each local office, became a clearinghouse for qualified minority applicants and for job orders from employers who were either seeking minorities or could be persuaded to accept referrals. The role of the minority specialist was similar to that of the "selective placement interviewer" discussed earlier.

large groups of people. For example, the successful elimination of stringent paper-and-pencil tests for blue-collar workers in civil service, the halting of automatic disqualification because of an arrest record or lack of citizenship, and the dropping of educational and experience requirements that were excessive for the work to be performed probably resulted in more hiring breakthroughs and more assimilation of the disadvantaged into better jobs throughout the country, over an extended period, than any formal training programs.

Other community groups developed programs in response to the tumult, each with its own contingent of employers and its own approach. For example, the YMCA-sponsored JOBS-NOW program in Chicago was mobilized to try to end friction among the city's street gangs. The CEP concept was born out of this experience. Church organizations, such as the Quakers,

TABLE 1. SALES APPROACHES TO EMPLOYERS BY MANPOWER PROGRAMS, 1972

MDTA	Job Corps	National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB)	Work Incentive Program (WIN)	Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)
Quality of its skills training	Quality and quantity of Jobs Corps training	Local business obligation to help solve local problems	Selling the individual	Complete honesty
	Total environment of the residential centers which socialize a Corpsman in the ways of the world	Use of free enterprise, rather than government, to solve some of the Nation's social problems		Appeals to social conscience
	Enrollee's youth	Stressing everyone's moral obligation to do his/her share		Economic arguments, particularly on-the-job training
	Giving enrollee a chance to prove his/her worth	Distribution of brochures and monthly newsletters		Lowered welfare cost
		Reimbursement from on-the-job training contracts		Threats (e.g., "If you don't do it voluntarily someday you may be forced. . . .")
				"Creaming" on initial placements
				Establishment of good service record
				Proper screening of enrollees
				Enrollee qualifications: Test scores, attendance, training, prior work experience, desire to work
				CEP services, including followup

Source: Booz-Allen Applied Research, *Evaluation Study of Job Development in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Policy, Evaluation and Research, 1972), vol. I, pp. 178-204.

While formal governmental employability development efforts were mainly directed at changing the person to fit the job, civil rights groups were concentrating their efforts on changing access to the job and changing the job itself to fit the person. This took many forms, but the thrust which had the most profound and lasting effect was the persistent attack upon institutionalized hiring practices that systematically excluded

established neighborhood houses and youth organizations in many areas to foster a better relationship toward the world of work through skills training, counseling, and work experience; their approach to employers was strongly evangelistic. Employers themselves, in local communities and nationwide, formed organizations and developed programs such as the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB-JOBS) to

persuade other employers to "do their share."

Often the ball tossed out by civil rights and other groups was caught by government, and especially by the human resources agencies. In San Francisco, for example, the threat of a spreading riot in the Hunters' Point area brought in a massive high-level multiagency effort that included the office of the mayor, and resulted in the rapid hiring of more than 1,000 disadvantaged persons into Postal Service and other Federal positions on one-year appointments. Entrance tests were waived, but continued employment was dependent upon passing tests by the end of the year. The success of the program was borne out when it was found at the end of the year that retention rates for the disadvantaged workers were nearly the same as those for other employees. Those who passed were then placed on an equal footing with other Federal employees and enjoyed the same upgrading opportunities and the same job stability. It is perhaps its permanence that made that program most appealing and most successful.

In San Francisco, employment service outreach office installations (Adult Opportunity Centers) promoted a conference of city hospital personnel managers to persuade these executives to reconsider their stringent requirements for letters of reference and their taboo on arrest records involving the use of marijuana. Similar examples of efforts on the part of employment service staff to change employer hiring requirements and procedures during this period could be found throughout the country.

As MDTA programs progressed, emphasis shifted to the placement of graduates of training programs. Across the country, these programs trained most clients in the same few large, high-volume, high-turnover occupational clusters, with little variation from one labor market to another. A study to evaluate the relationship of MDTA training to skill shortages found that five occupational clusters—clerical, automotive repair, welding, medical (largely nurse's aide and licensed vocational or practical nurse), and drafting—accounted for 73 percent of all training slots.[7] These "safe," high-turnover occupations provided a moving market for the trainees. As a result, the basic approach to the employer was one that emphasized "mutual benefit": Placements for the agency, and well-trained minority and disadvantaged entry workers for employers. In the mid-1960's, unemployment rates were relatively low, and many employers shared the Nation's concerns and fears about black exclusion.

A more aggressive approach to employers was used by job developers with the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), a multiagency effort usually spearheaded by a community action agency. Indeed, in planning for CEP, Dr. Louis Ferman called for confrontation with the employer wherever persuasion failed.[8] However, a 1972 study of job development methods found the "mutual benefit" approach and economic arguments used by the employment service, although in modified form, still to be the approach most heavily used by the programs of that period. Table 1 lists the number of "sales" approaches that the study found to be common.

[7] *Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Institutional Manpower Training in Meeting Employers' Needs in Skill Shortage Occupations* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Olympus Research Center, 1972), pp. 12-13.

[8] Louis Ferman, *Job Development for the Hard to Employ*, p. 76.

Perhaps the most ambitious and appealing method of opening new opportunities to the disadvantaged was the New Careers program. Characterized by its advocates as an apprenticeship for professional occupations, the program called for the development of new subentry job categories in the public sector, with a special career ladder and academic training leading to entry-level professional jobs. Its design was intended to meet both the needs of the disadvantaged and the needs of public agencies for subprofessionals. The actual experience with New Careers revealed many problems that were not foreseen, particularly the intransigency of bureaucratic structures and the resentment of long-term, low-level employees who saw new employees move into unusual opportunities for upgrading, while they were bypassed.

Yet the concept flamed the imaginations of many, particularly ghetto dwellers. The quality of jobs offered the poor was by now coming to be as much an issue as the quantity. The subsequent proliferation of paraprofessional occupations can in a large measure be attributed to the effect of the New Careers program.

The early 1970's brought with them a different economic and social climate; a higher level of unemployment, especially among white-collar and professional workers, a diminution of effective civil rights activity, and increased cynicism. The change in atmosphere made the employing community much harder to approach. As Mangum and Walsh expressed the problem, "Most firms have not experienced manpower shortages over the past three years and, in fact, have been overwhelmed by the constant pressure of new applicants and referrals. In such a setting, employers are not apt to be open minded about public training programs."[9] That appraisal would surely apply to any period of high unemployment, as practitioners in the field know.

The demand of the organized civil rights movement for jobs is now institutionalized through enforcement of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. Compliance with those requirements now provides the most viable basis for mutuality of interest between program operator and employer. The employer needs to meet a goal within a stated time frame, and the program operator has access to large numbers of minority jobseekers. Yet there are ominous recent signs that a different basis for mutuality may have to be established. In California, for example, a white student who charged that he was denied admission to a medical school because of its affirmative action policy, was ordered admitted by the State supreme court on the basis that such "discriminatory" practices are illegal. If upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court, the affirmative action-based requirements in employment may be adversely affected.

Changing Perceptions of the Client

During the turbulent years, the employment service found that its traditional delivery system conflicted with its new ad-

[9] Garth Magnum and John Walsh, *A Decade of Manpower Development and Training* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1973), p. 114.

vocacy role. Many of its methods, forms, procedures, staff composition and training, and measures of accomplishment were not appropriate for the new direction. In different parts of the country, the employment service experimented with alternative delivery systems which would accommodate all categories of jobseekers, but especially the most needy. Some of these concepts such as the COMD model (comprehensive model), sprang from within the system; others were developed in reaction to outside pressures or were adopted from other disciplines, whether appropriate or not.

In 1963, for instance, it was the conventional wisdom in civil rights organizations that large numbers of skilled black graduates from Southern colleges were hidden among the unemployed and the unskilled blue-collar work force because of discrimination. With a display of fervor and naivete, the California State Employment Service and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People jointly set about to find them. A massive, widely publicized effort was organized in San Francisco to uncover, register, and place these skilled, unemployed and underemployed blacks in more suitable jobs. During six successive weekends, more then 2,000 blacks were registered by a large number of volunteers (which included Employment Service staff members). Of these, only 127 were found who were skilled enough to be referred to jobs. Only 30 were placed. This failure of the skills inventory, viewed alongside black unemployment rates (three times those of the white population), began to suggest the enormity and complexity of the problem—and certainly no hint of the solution.

The War on Poverty gave rise to the presence of community action agencies inside the ghetto communities, intended to bring services to where the people were. Spokespersons raised the competitive issues of whether traditional government service agencies, with their historic insulation from poverty and minority problems, were fit to deal with hardcore unemployed and whether, indeed, they would be shunned by ghetto residents because their record with minorities was hardly reassuring. The challenge resulted in a dispersion of Employment Service staff into the poverty communities, either in conjunction with other agencies or on its own (as in the San Francisco Youth and Adult Opportunity Centers).

The fact was that large numbers of residents voluntarily swarmed through the doors, exceeding both expectations and available resources. Nevertheless, to avoid the specter of creaming, community workers were dispatched to homes and hangouts to find the most alienated, the most afflicted, and to urge their participation. Unfortunately, most of these coaxed from pool halls and street corners showed up mainly in the dropout columns. Thus the concept of outreach was evolved, and it is still retained as a component of employability development programs.

It is true, however, that minorities have always been heavy users of the regular offices of the Employment Service because they have less access to or success with alternative job-getting sources. Their special problems, however, had always been subordinated, ignored, and pushed aside. When agency staffs in the ghetto offices focused on those problems, a deeper understanding and knowledge permeated the entire institution. The realization grew that the disadvantaged state was a consequence of years of exclusion which had adversely affected the health, the living situations, the work attitudes and personal motivations, as well as the skill and educational level, of large numbers in the target population.

The model for service which then came to dominate the field and is still evident in the CETA legislation, is essentially a medical one—people are sick and, as such, require diagnosis and treatment by experts. Offices abounded with counselors who wrestled with the massive personal problems of their clients as they attempted to induce, say, addicts to forego their addiction in favor of a welding course. Volunteer tutors taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Vocational rehabilitation redefined its eligibility criteria in order to extend its services to the disadvantaged. Although many approaches, techniques, and systems to deliver this broad spectrum of services were tried, only a few of the most significant are described here.

The one-stop idea, for example, gave rise to the California State Service Center program. Established in ghetto areas, centers combined the services of all State human resource agencies such as the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation as well as county welfare agencies. The pitfalls inherent in a multiagency operation became overwhelming and only a few State service centers remain in existence. The experience, however, strongly affected the direction taken by the Employment Service for a period.

Working with other staffs within the State service center, the Employment Service was exposed to the casework approach used by the other agencies. In time, the casework discipline was introduced into all Employment Service offices located in poverty communities. Personnel were given extensive training in casework techniques and writeups. The commitment to this technique reached such absurd proportions in some areas that a jobseeker walking into an office would be confronted with an assignment to a caseload, although a three-week wait might be necessary before processing could even begin.

The idea of assigning to an individual staff member intimate, ongoing, and many-faceted responsibilities for a client took many forms. The job coach was responsible for getting the person to work on time, solving personal problems that interfered with the work life of the client, and intervening with the employer when a client had difficulty on the job. The concept of job agent, adopted from an experimental program in a small California community, was the epitome in case responsibility. The job agent classification was established by legislative mandate with the passage of the California Human Resources Development Act in 1968. As advocate and provider of all services to a caseload of the most severely disadvantaged, the job agent was to do it all—develop training and employability plans for each jobseeker, procure training and related services, review and evaluate his/her progress, place him/her in a job, follow up after placement, and assist in overcoming obstacles along the way.

Counselor, placement interviewer, job developer, salesperson, coach, psychiatrist, and scrounger—the job agent was all of these. Because funds for the job agent to buy services for the

client were never forthcoming, the job agent had no more resources than the outreach placement interviewer, and usually less experience. As portrayed in an evaluative report by the California Assembly Office of Research, job agents spent "an unnecessarily extensive amount of their time . . . hustling up a pair of shoes for a client or other emergency needs."[10] The concept for all practical purposes was abandoned.

From the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) emanated the reverse staff-client ratio—a team of "experts" to serve each client. This clinical (and costly) approach focused more staff resources upon the problems of the individual client than any other delivery system. A CEP team consisted of a job market analyst, an employment specialist, a placement specialist, a job development specialist, and a job coach. Each expert concentrated on one small aspect of the process. Although the employability development team was subsequently adopted by the WIN program, the model was finally abandoned. The team did not prove to be significantly more effective than individual professionals were in obtaining results, it was inordinately expensive, and team efforts were difficult to coordinate.

The efficacy of the social work-casework approach to employability problems on a wholesale basis may be seriously questioned. An agency can provide a referral either to a job or to a training slot if one or the other is available and the individual is qualified. It can provide motivation and skills in manipulating the marketplace. It can provide education and knowledge. Under no circumstances, however, is it mandated to provide the same kind of supervision as that of the parole agent or the welfare social worker, nor does it hold the same kind of power over the client. Certainly, jobseekers do not tend to view themselves as "cases," even if they are poor and black. This became obvious when most of the cases simply disappeared.

The job-finding workshop model developed by the California Employment Service in the Western Addition Adult Opportunity Center is described in *The Workshops*.[11] This effort was an about-face from both the employability development team and the job agent. The workshops were a rejection of the medical model, an expression of the conviction that a self-help, group motivational setting would have greater long-run effectiveness than an approach that fostered dependency. In addition, it was administratively attractive because of its favorable staff-client ratio.

The office operated in the daytime with placement interviewers and counselors who were particularly trained in job development techniques. All applicants, however, were invited to four nightly sessions, each of which lasted about two hours. These discussions served to teach and motivate those who attended through a sharing of knowledge and experience, to enlarge their view of the labor market, and to change their job search methods. The agency provided workshop leadership and labor market information and tools.

A single staff member could conduct a task-oriented workshop for up to 10 jobseekers. The participants described their own experiences and problems. Before a session ended, each member was provided a list of places to contact on the following day. The group participated in readying each person for approaching and interviewing the employer, criticizing the role enactment, and on the following night analyzing the encounter. Participants felt impelled to bring back to the meetings everything they had learned about who was hiring, whom to ask for, what to say, and what not to say. The workshops and the daytime staff helped clients prepare a model to take along as a reference when completing the employer's work application.

Although initiated for job search purposes, the group method became the main vehicle for the selection of trainees for skills training programs. It was found that the group setting provoked the kind of exchange that yielded detailed information about the occupation and the training, permitting competitors to make more rational decisions. Many screened themselves out immediately (prior to entering the program), but those who wanted to enroll had made a far more serious commitment. The group selection method was extremely effective, not only because everything was out in the open and staff was not involved in making secret judgments, but also because of the marked increase in retention rates.

Remarkably successful in helping individuals obtain employment, the workshop self-help, nonmedical approach was still dependent upon the placements made by the daytime interviewers in order to validate itself. Direct labor market intervention is the basic mission of the Employment Service nationally, and, by definition, is inimical to a learn how to do-it-yourself approach. The agency did not then, nor does it now, have a way of counting self-directed placements no matter how clearly they appeared to be the result of agency effort. Although State and local offices may approve of or even initiate programs to teach people to find their own jobs, such programs will always be vulnerable, so long as the results are not evaluated and compared to traditional placement methods. The activity is not endorsed by the U.S. Employment Service or incorporated into its measuring system. "Obtained employment" is not an acceptable category in the columns of the Employment Service Activities Reporting System (ESARS). However, it *is* in CETA. That fact should be of enormous significance in developing CETA placement programs and conducting systematic research on the effectiveness of a dynamic job search component.

Summary

If one were to encapsulate the changing attitudes and prescriptions of those institutions that directed their efforts to the minority unemployed during the 1960's, as perceived by a

[10] *The California Job Agent Program* (Sacramento, Calif.: California State Assembly Office of Research, July 1974), p. 184.

[11] Miriam Johnson, *The Workshops: A Program of the San Francisco Adult Project Office of the California State Employment Service* (San Francisco, 1967). Available through regional ETA resource clearinghouses.

front-line operator, the scenario would unfold along the following lines:

1960 Technically, we don't discriminate. However, we wouldn't upset our employers and lose their business by sending them blacks. It isn't really our problem.

1963 Out there is a large body of skilled minorities who are unemployed or underemployed. We don't see them because they distrust us and stay away. The only thing that stands between them and a good job is employer discrimination. We must find them and actively assist the employer to integrate his work force.

1964 It isn't just discrimination, and a large body of skilled underemployed or unemployed minorities did *not* emerge. The problem is mainly low, noncompetitive skills. We will use MDTA funding to provide them with skills training.

1965-1970 It isn't just low skills. It's everything—health, illiteracy, low motivation, bad living situations, arrest records. We shall adopt a medical model for treating the whole person with supportive services. We mustn't cream by selecting the motivated.

We must find and select the most destroyed, the most seriously disturbed, the most marginal clients, including drug addicts and alcoholics.

We must deal with our clients as cases and train the staff in a casework approach.

We need a whole team of specialists to work with one person.

We need a combination of agencies, with different competencies, to provide one-stop service.

We need a single agent, an advocate who will take care of all problems for his case load.

We need to motivate people to act on their own behalf.

We must stop fostering dependency. We must stop pretending that we have evaluative and treatment competencies, and resources that we don't have.

Without question, bureaucratic perceptions were deepened by exposure to the problem. However, changing the *system* for delivering services does not in itself change the *content* of what it is that is being delivered.

After a generation as a respectable labor exchange intermediary, the Employment Service was plunged headlong into a maelstrom of events which we now think of as the manpower era. It dealt directly with challenging situations which required a full decade to define, and may well take several more to solve. Each new program approach was an inevitable step in the unfolding and learning process of serving the economically disfranchised, but the constraints that lay upon the agency as a result of the conflicting missions imposed upon it may well have inhibited its effectiveness, its daring, and its commitment.

Although the agency brought a valuable body of professional knowledge and experience to the task, and although its efforts were in many places heroic, the actual program records of the decade are relatively humdrum: a compendium of conventional choices of occupations for training, halfway satisfactory placement records, and a limited number of approaches to both employer and client. Employment development programs had become the arena where our multiple social ills, which had taken generations to ferment, were to be cured: an unrealistic mission, then as now.

The overall problems of the disadvantaged have not disappeared, as hoped, with the combination of American know-how, good intentions, and resources. Many individuals who were served undoubtedly moved into more favorable and competitive positions, but there is serious question as to whether a voluntary body of constituent employers was developed. Certainly not enough firms were involved with and made use of employability development programs to employ all who were trained. Still, the efforts of the past 15 years must surely have contributed to altering employer consciousness with respect to applicant requirements and hiring practices.

There were exemplary programs, both in and out of the employment service system, which succeeded in making major breakthroughs, and they light up the scene, even if only for a brief period. They were exemplary because they addressed themselves to the employer's real world, and they approached the clients as real people with some responsibility for their own lives, rather than as passive, assembly-line objects on which operators perform their corrective functions.

But in terms of specifics, it is a poorly documented era. Although there exists in the employment service a valid body of tools and techniques in the traditional placement function, many of them of value today to CETA operators, the body of literature describing techniques and tools which center on placing the disadvantaged is much weaker. The rapidity of change in those turbulent and germinal times never permitted the recording, the documentation, and the assessment of the methods used. Because the employability development field has now achieved a relative maturity, it could be hoped that such documentation would be undertaken. The situation does not augur well for such a development, however, given the increased fragmentation of responsibility under CETA and the general resentment of prime sponsors against Federal intervention.

However sketchy the record of the past, employability development operators can nevertheless build upon it.

3. LABOR EXCHANGE PROCESSES AND EMPLOYABILITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

To be effective, program operators need to explore continuously the intricacies of the labor market, nationally and particularly locally, to expand their knowledge about, and even deepen their insights concerning it: How to identify the greatest number of potential opportunities for the disadvantaged individual; how to anticipate the emergence, like bubbles surfacing in a sea, of appropriate job openings; which employers represent which potential; and what the best strategy is to move CETA clients into jobs or into a more competitive position in the job queue.

The larger underlying question—how *most* people get their jobs—has significant bearing on the placing of the disadvantaged, and recent research[12] has offered insights that are incorporated here. This chapter has two basic purposes: to suggest a theoretical framework from which to examine the methods employers and jobseeker use to search out and find each other, and to suggest strategies relevant to CETA that are inherent in such a framework.

There is always movement of jobs in the market, sluggish as it may be in bad times. For a job and a worker to come together, two things must take place: First, the job has to be announced by the employer to an audience that can potentially respond, and second, the audience has to be in a position to "hear" the announcement.

Figure 1 conceptualizes both of these statements. The inverted triangle represents the job vacancies broadcast by the employer to the potential audience. The juxtaposed upright pyramid represents the *audience* and the place where it must be in order to "hear" the broadcast. The increasing width of each level suggests the exclusiveness of the audience and the decibels of the broadcast, rather than the statistical volume of either the jobs or the audience. The levels or segments of the figure have importance for the employability development operator because they illustrate the dynamics of the search process and its rationale. The sequence does not preclude the possibility that the employer may use many or even all search techniques at once. It only suggests the direction of the dynamic process.

Employers, like the rest of us, tend to be risk avoiders. Given a choice, they inevitably prefer to recruit and select for hire from among those closest and most familiar to them for all job categories. They broadcast their vacancies to the narrowest, most limited market apt to produce acceptable workers, turning to the wider, less familiar audiences only when the closer sources are unavailable or fail to produce an acceptable match.

The rate of unemployment is a major factor determining how widely the employer must broadcast a job in order to obtain an acceptable worker, or the speed with which a job filters into the public domain. Whatever the economic conditions, many announcements of job openings never reach the widest audience—the jobseeker in the public labor market.

The various methods for recruitment and job search are discussed below, along with the placement strategies for program operators that are inherent in that particular level.

Level I: The Internal Job Market and Employability Development Strategies Therein

This level refers to job openings filled from within a firm (sometimes an industry) to which the jobseeker in the outside market generally has no access. The employer fills such jobs either by transferring or promoting current employees or by recalling employees on layoff. The audience competing for the job opening within the firm, then, is the smallest and most exclusive of all—the employer's immediate work force. The internal market thus presents the fewest chinks in its armor whereby a newcomer might break through, and it has the least access of all to the employability development operator for placement of disadvantaged clients.

[12] *Recruitment, Job Search and the United States Employment Service* (R&D Monograph 43; Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, 1976), referred to hereafter as the Camil study; and *Job Seeking Methods Used by American Workers* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975), referred to hereafter as the BLS study.

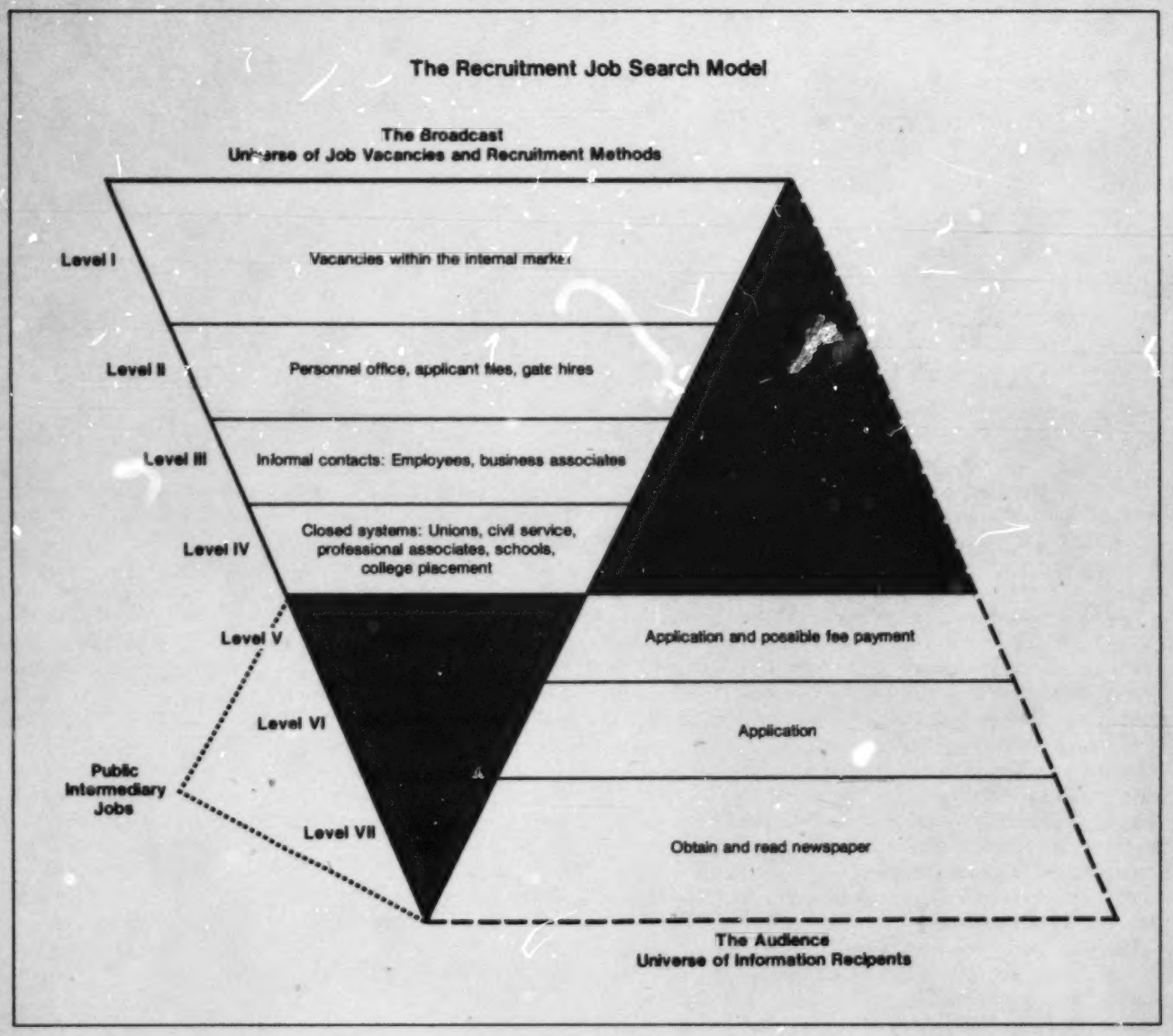

Figure 1

For a variety of reasons, those in the business of correcting labor market injustices often consider the internal labor market as part of their arena. The New Careers program was essentially an effort to effect change in the internal labor market by establishing new career ladders. Society generally has a growing awareness that advancement opportunities within firms have not been equal for persons of different races and sexes; there are universities where the full professors are all men, plants where the assembly work is performed only by women (although they are supervised by men), and offices where blacks are kept out of responsible positions. Throughout the business world, the management structures tend to be dominated by white men.

The economic effects upon women of such inequity in the world of work have recently received public attention. One study showed that the gap between men's and women's wages has widened, rather than narrowed in the last two decades. As a result, CETA-sponsored organizations such as Advocates for Women have been funded to place women with management potential, from the outside, into the company's management positions. This strategy is designed to disrupt the firm's usual male-oriented promotional processes.

There are serious ethical problems to be considered because, although such strategies may succeed in getting women into management by blocking the advancement of men within the firm, they also almost totally ignore the pro-

motion or advancement of women who are already working there. The inattention of the New Careers program to lower skilled workers who were already inside but denied access to promotional opportunities was one of its weakest elements.

Strategies designed to block the normal internal market processes should not produce new sources of inequity to minorities already within the firm's work force. Instead, the clientele should be redefined and some provision made for the correction of inequities. This might mean developing a joint plan with employers, unions, and other employee organizations to train present employees in management skills. However, because there would be no placement count for which the program operator could take credit, except as lower level positions become vacant, there is little incentive for such action, unless a project was specifically funded for the purpose of upgrading (for example) women already employed.

Level II: Contacting the Employer Directly

Level II matches are those which occurred because the right person, actively looking for work, knocked on the employer's door at the right time, or had been there earlier and left an application. Although generally regarded as an informal method from the employer's point of view, the jobseeker is engaged in an active, self-generated, deliberate search for work. Applying directly to the employer for a job without any suggestions or referrals from anyone is the method identified by nearly all research on job search as the single most *successful method* used to obtain work. The Camil and BLS studies[13] of successful job search patterns indicated that between 30 and 35 percent of the respondents had found their jobs in this way.

Such jobseekers move themselves into a position where they can hear the employer's announcement which may have been made only to the firm's personnel office or "gatekeeper." The direct employer contact method is used with varying degrees of sophistication by all kinds of jobseekers. Some with highly sought-after skills, credentials, and experience know exactly where to go and how to present themselves to the best advantage. Such individuals know their own labor market far better than any intermediary possibly could, and they have little need for either the public announcement or the intervention of any broker.

There are other jobseekers, less assured of their position, who nevertheless conduct a purposeful, well-organized search for work, concentrating their efforts on the company, the industry, the location, or the occupation in which they are interested in establishing themselves. Others, however,—most often in unskilled, low-pay occupations—conduct an aimless, limited, hit-and-miss search for work, checking the same few known employers on a prescribed route, or presenting themselves to the employer's gatekeepers by announcing "I'll take anything." Their ignorance of search methods becomes as much a factor in trapping them into a succession of short-duration jobs as their lack of occupational skills.

(The related strategies for level II are discussed together with those for level III, since both are informal methods involving overt action on the part of the jobseeker.)

Level III: Friends and Relatives and Related Strategies

Level III describes those jobs which are obtained through the personal contacts of the jobseekers. This is an informal process beginning either with the employer's announcement of an opening to those closest to the firm—employees, business associates and competitors, the owner's family and friends—or with the employees' knowledge of the impending departure of a fellow employee. In fact, employers often first post such openings within their place of business so that employees may have first access for their family and friends. The person who gets the job has some connection, however remote, with the employer's circle.

From the employer's vantage, this is the most successful method, since 44 percent of the employer's work force is recruited through such "broadcast." From the jobseeker's point of view, 27 to 31 percent find their jobs on the basis of tips like these, a method slightly less effective than going directly to the employer with no previous knowledge of a job opening. A lack of contacts in the "in" community has been offered as one of the most potent explanations for the persistence of institutionalized racial and other types of discrimination. Word-of-mouth recruitment is held by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to be inherently discriminatory when it replicates the race and sex of the existing work force.

Thus, levels II and III describe the informal search method through which approximately 65 percent of jobs are obtained and which does not involve a public announcement or a formal third-party intermediary. Earlier studies made as long ago as 1947 generally support the Camil and BLS findings that the majority of job matches are effected in these two micromarkets. Clearly, employers select workers from among those who come forward of their own volition, or are recommended by someone within their circle, in preference to those directed by more sweeping recruitment techniques or referred by professional brokers.

This preference is generally attributable to the speed and lower cost of informal recruitment, although subtler motives may be operating. Friends, relatives, employees, and business associates may provide richer and more detailed information about the individual, or the job, than formal intermediaries. Hiring people who are similar to those already employed or who are more like the employer ensures compatibility of the work force and similarity of the work ethic. Employers tend to believe, justifiably or not, that people who initiate their own

[13] Ibid.

search for work are more committed workers than those referred by public agencies.

Both of the informal methods discussed—going directly to employers without prior knowledge of an opening, and getting a job through one's friends, relatives, and casual encounters—depend on actions generated by jobseekers themselves. For that reason, the employability development strategy that is most relevant to these levels is one of a strong, effective, active, job search component in all employment and training programs operating under the CETA umbrella. Whatever its format, an active job search component must center on the client's daily practical experience in calling on employers. Job search skills are learned in the laboratory not in the lecture room.

From an administrative point of view, this course of action has much potential value. Since 65 percent of all jobs are obtained in these ways, an emphasis on increasing the job search skills of participants would significantly improve the accomplishment statistics. Unlike the Employment Service, the measure of accomplishment within CETA definitions includes a count of participants who obtained employment through means other than agency placements. Furthermore, the use of the client as a self-help resource relieves staff to meet the needs of those less able to manipulate the labor market themselves. Although considerably more experimentation and research efforts are needed, earlier job search programs indicate that there is a favorable cost-benefit relationship, compared to other placement methods.

The agency benefits in other ways. The experiences of those out trying to get jobs, when reported back to program operators, provides a significant body of knowledge about the local labor market and employer hiring practices.

In the view of the authors, the optimum time to introduce a job search component is immediately after assessment and before participants are routed into other employability development services. Not least of the potential advantages of this sequence is that, for some people, it may be all that is needed to obtain a decent job. In that case the program could properly count an indirect placement, since the client would have received more services than outreach, assessment, and job referrals.

Program operators, and particularly job developers, would then have a basis for assessing the job search skills of participants so that they could concentrate their efforts on those who will require a maximum amount of brokering and intervention. These may be individuals for whom English is only barely a second language, mental retardees, and others who may for a variety of reasons find it taxing to confront an employer and do require a spokesperson or advocate.

By far the more important consideration, however, is the inherent logic of such a program, and its long-range value to the client. Although the traditional labor-exchange format has always rested on the active role of the broker and the comparatively passive role of the client, intrinsic flaws in such an approach have surfaced in the intervening years. There is never enough staff in any work force agency to provide such services for the majority of those who apply. Moreover, clients are *consumers* of employability services. Irrespective of the volume of listed openings, or the impassioned interventions of job developers, getting a job is an activity that intensely involves these consumers. In the last analysis, *they* must face the employer who can, and very often does, refuse to hire because the self-presentation skills of the applicant are inadequate.

A participant who becomes a skilled jobseeker has acquired a permanent capability for use far into the future. To paraphrase an old wisdom, it is good to give fish to the hungry, but it is far better to teach them how to catch fish. Persons who have confronted and manipulated the marketplace and found a decent job on their own feel less helpless, less dependent, and in better control of their own lives. To the degree that feelings of defeat are responsible for the disadvantaged state, to the degree that apathy and lack of aggressiveness are contributing factors, to the degree that lack of knowledge about the job-getting game is a deterrent, every CETA program can address itself to patterns of failure.

There are essential ingredients to a meaningful job search component that require the investment of resources and careful planning on the part of program operators. First, the content of a job search training program should be comprehensive and personalized. It should go far beyond platitudes and simple do's and don'ts. Clients should learn something about the local labor market, labor-exchange processes, and intermediaries. Every aspect of the job-getting game, designed particularly for the kind of problems encountered by CETA participants, should be explored. These might include problems of arrest records, gaps in work history, the absence of references, language problems, and others. The purpose of a job search training component is not just to get any job but, rather, to make a critical breakthrough into the primary market. Where to go, how to get past the gatekeepers, what to say, what the employers work application should look like—all of these and much more are necessary ingredients. Clients must learn to broaden their own micromarkets by soliciting the help of every friend, relative, neighbor, and shopkeeper in their own environment.

Second, a critical factor for teaching job search skills is relating theory to practice. Successful training demands the daily experience of looking for work. Otherwise, the entire exercise becomes academic, lacking any motivational value, personalization, or practical help to participants.

Third, staff members must be trained not only in techniques for imparting such information, but in the content itself. It should not be assumed that job developers and counselors necessarily have a fund of knowledge about the best ways for their clients to look for work. And finally, an array of tools must be gathered and developed, including local labor market information about employers and the occupations of their work force, information about union practices, samples of employer and civil service application forms, and visual aids.

Without these essentials, many job search efforts have deteriorated into holding actions, consisting either of dead time for those residual participants who were not successfully placed by the instructor or job developer, or rather dull lectures on the world of work, often conducted by poorly informed teachers.

Whether job search training is offered for all clients, no skills training class should be completed without ensuring (1) that class members participate in job search sessions with the job developer; (2) that they are provided with the names of firms to which they should go on their own; and (3) that they are advised of the best way to present their training accomplishments to the potential employer.

In the experience of the authors, the most effective method for teaching job search skills is the small group setting where clients are provided with exchange, criticism, and suggestions from participants, with the professional staff undergirding and aiding the process. The enormous motivational and learning value of the group, if it is encouraged, may be more significant than the simple imparting of facts. People learn and draw strength from one another, especially when they recount their personal experiences. Not only is the group format best suited for the task, it is also a good response to inadequate resources because of the favorable professional-client ratio.

There are, however, some clients and some staff members who are uncomfortable in the group setting. Alternatives to the group should be developed which might include a visual presentation of job search techniques, as well as individual counseling.

How long job search sessions should go on and how frequently they occur is best determined by client needs and available resources. A variety of formats is possible: A single two-hour session, daily, as was practiced in the Hayward, California, employment service office with mainstream applicants; two-hour sessions in a series of four nights, as was used with black male jobseekers at the San Francisco Adult Opportunity Center; and daily workshops for a two-week period as were developed by some CEP programs and by WIN. CETA, like WIN and CEP, has the advantage of being able to pay people while they learn to look for work.

The remaining levels in the pyramid in figure 1 describe formal job search methods which involve institutions—labor market intermediaries—whose function it is to bring job and worker together.

Level IV: The Closed Systems and Related Strategies

Level IV refers to methods by which job broadcast, either by contract or by choice, is limited to a preselected, narrow audience. It is an audience attached to some group, position, or system that requires "rites of passage" of its members, such as college degrees, licenses, union membership, tests, completion of training in a commercial school, and so on. This closed-system audience is wider than it is for informal recruiting announcements, but its size is held in check by controlling mechanisms. Typical examples of closed-system mechanisms are school placement offices, the civil service, professional and technical associations, advertisements in trade or professional journals, purely ethnic or religious intermediaries, and union hiring halls. According to the BLS study, together these systems account for over 8 percent of successful job search methods. Generally, this category involves formal vacancy announcements and prescribed (nonnegotiable) qualifications and duties.

Strategies designed to assist the client to make more successful use of the employer's usual recruitment devices are evident in the enormous effort expended by practitioners to establish programs which would enable individuals to pass apprenticeship and civil service tests, GED's, qualifying tests of major employers, and entrance tests for training programs.

In addition, efforts have been focused on changing the terms of the "rites of passage." For example, the Philadelphia plan tackled the racial composition of construction unions throughout the country. Cultural biases in civil service and apprenticeships tests were challenged, and requirements for licensing various occupations were altered to conform more directly to the work.

Employability development programs in themselves establish a new closed system. Some CETA programs reserve a portion of the job market for their trainees by obtaining commitments from employers to hire a certain number of program graduates. This precompletion strategy for occupational skills training programs is most effective with large employers whose turnover rates are high enough to ensure the presence of openings at the time they are needed. Since there are only a certain number of jobs, these openings are then unavailable to other mechanisms or to the general public.

There are pitfalls to the precompletion approach. Even the larger employer may have to renege, subject to severe economic change in the period between commitment and the client's graduation from training. Inherent, too, in establishing a CETA job preserve is the possibility of an undercurrent of community resentment, especially when times are bad. Given a finite number of job openings in a local area and an excess of jobseekers in relation to openings, the practice of reserving jobs for those who have gone through the "rites of passage" to be CETA participants may meet with the resistance of those individuals and their advocates who are competing for similar jobs.

Because the need to meet affirmative action goals is often the propellent for employer-union promises and direct involvement, any weakening of the country's commitment to affirmative action would undercut this strategy. Providing employers with a flow of well-trained entry workers would appear to be a more promising approach.

Despite the pitfalls, however, cracking an established closed recuitment system or devising a new one for CETA participants has proved to be an effective placement strategy.

The Public Intermediary Market: Levels V, VI, and VII

If the recruitment methods so far described fail to produce a suitable worker, the job filters down into the public market:

private employment agencies, the public employment service, and the help wanted ads are all labor market intermediaries available to anyone who wishes to make use of them. The size of the audience reached by each varies considerably, as does their comparative value to the disadvantaged jobseeker.

The public market is a highly competitive one, where the potential audience by far outstrips the volume of announcements. Because the public market generally consists of jobs that have not been skimmed off through the filtering process, it probably contains a high volume of low-pay, high-turnover occupations, those whose skill combinations are in short supply, jobs with uncertain income (commission sales), or the less desirable jobs within an occupation. Hence, employability development program enrollees may well find that the opportunities encountered through a direct approach to employers, through friends and relatives, or through closed systems are of better quality than those listed with the public intermediaries.

Whatever weaknesses there are in the composition of the jobs, the public market is an arena through which approximately 27 percent of all job matches occur, and it should not be ignored. Instead, its mechanisms must be understood and manipulated so that it will yield the best possible results for the client.

Level V: Private Employment Agencies

Whether the fee is paid by the employer or the jobseeker, private employment agencies provide approximately 5.6 percent of all jobs that are obtained. According to the Camil study, 60 percent of the fees are paid by the jobseeker. Generally, the nature of private employment agencies is such that they are less likely to provide the CETA client with a meaningful service, and may in fact present serious problems to the unknowledgeable jobseeker.

Private agencies, acting on the principle of supply and demand, tend to charge the applicant rather than the employer for placement in the lower paid, less skilled, women-dominated occupations. And fees, although they vary from State to State, can go as high as 10 percent of the gross annual salary.

Furthermore, the agencies tend to advertise only the best of their high-volume jobs in the newspapers. They usually specialize occupationally in white-collar jobs, with clerical, technical, and professional jobs predominating. Private agencies sort out and eliminate applicants who are less competitive in terms of skills, experience and, particularly, their desirability to the employer. Hence, the industry is frequently charged with discriminatory practices.

Finally, the employment counselor in a private agency generally works on commission and is not inclined to jeopardize present income or future dealings with the employer in order to act as an advocate for the disadvantaged. Agencies for temporary work, however, and those where the employer pays the fees are possible resources for the placement of primarily clerical trainees.

Temporary employment can sometimes be a way of easing into the job market and sharpening skills for CETA graduates, those who have had limited work experience, and those reentering the job market.

Before referring any CETA participant to a private employment agency, CETA operators should become familiar with how the agencies function in their locality to ensure that they do not refer their clients to any applicant fee-charging agency.

Levels VI and VII: Employment Service and Want Ads

Together, the Employment Service and want ads represent the widest and least restrictive public mechanisms available to all employers and all jobseekers at all occupational levels. Although the help wanted ads provide only a broadcast service, compared to the Employment Service which also provides a broker service, there are similarities between the types of jobs that fall into each mechanism.

The public Employment Service has a large competing audience, although not nearly as vast as the audience which reads newspaper want ad columns. Over 5 percent of the jobseekers in the Camil and BLS studies were placed through that agency. Generally, persons looking for work at a given point will see approximately the same number of jobs at the Employment Service as they would in the Sunday papers.[14] However, on a daily basis, the want ads would contain a far greater flow of new jobs each day than the Employment Service, where employers leave their openings for a longer period of time. Both the Employment Service and the want ad jobs are heavily concentrated in domestic, service, and clerical occupations, although the fast-turnover new jobs that come in daily in the Employment Service include a larger volume of blue-collar jobs than appear in the want ads.

Job descriptions provided by the Employment Service generally contain much more detailed and reliable information than can be expected from want ads. Because the Employment Service has much better balance between white-collar service and blue-collar jobs than the want ads, the Job Bank represents a more valid concentration of job announcements appropriate for CETA participants than any of the other labor exchange intermediaries.

However, there is little doubt that the same jobs are seen over a long period. Also, the number of jobs is usually grossly inadequate to accommodate the numbers of jobseekers and, in quality, may not represent exposure to the most desirable opportunities in the market. In addition, its large active file is filled with applicants who are indistinguishable from employability program trainees in skills level, experience, racial composition, age, and all other "pathologies," despite the glib rhetoric surrounding job readiness.

[14] All subsequent information pertaining to help wanted ads and Employment Service orders is derived from two studies: J. Walsh, M. Johnson, and M. Sugarman, *Help Wanted: Case Studies of Classified Ads* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Olympus Publishing Co., 1975); and M. Johnson and M. Sugarman, *The Comparative Labor Market Role of Newspaper Help Wanted Ads and Public Employment Service Job Listings* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Research Centers, 1976).

The help wanted section of the newspaper is the public intermediary that reaches the greatest number of jobseekers, as well as want ad browsers. It is the most effective formal method for the jobseeker, the third most effective of all methods. Between 14 and 17 percent of all jobseekers get their jobs through want ads. It is also the most convenient, economical, and least threatening way to look for work; for the price of a newspaper, and while sitting at home, the jobseeker is exposed to a greater daily flow of new local employer-placed job announcements than through any other formal intermediary. At least 62 percent of the ads provide a telephone number so that a preliminary screening can be done from home. More new local jobs appear during the combined weekdays than on Sunday and are easier to find, although the Sunday paper contains far more ads than any single daily.

No third-party broker stands between the jobseeker and the employer—the process is one of self-selection. However, advertisers do use a variety of techniques to control the flow of responses and to screen out undesirable applicants. Some provide the telephone number *only*, with no hint of the employer's identity. Companies seeking highly skilled help use extremely technical language in the ad as a means of elimination. The use of the newspaper box number requiring a written response limits the flow and provides a screening mechanism.

As a source of jobs for CETA clients, the want ads contain serious biases and limitations with which CETA operators should become familiar. A high percentage of the jobs are for white-collar occupations, with few opportunities in blue collar. As in the Employment Service, a high volume of jobs are concentrated in domestic and restaurant occupations. Jobseekers must peruse the columns carefully in order to recognize earning opportunities other than bonafide salaried employment, such as self-employment, business investments, "pyramid selling," and opportunities for training or in the armed services.

Unfortunately, these nonjobs are not always easy to identify, since advertisers go to some pains to obscure their nature. Where the state law is lax, even private agency listings are not always identified as such. Most ads imply that previous experience is essential, and those ads that require no previous experience are mostly for commission-only sales jobs. Such ads often promise easy riches, a particularly offensive lure for the gullible and unsophisticated jobseeker. In general, ads do not provide enough detailed, job-related information to permit the reader to make rational choices.

There is, however, a constant flow of opportunities published in the ads. These opportunities can be in the same occupations in which there are employability development training programs, and valuable leads can be found among the discouragingly heavy volume of unusable ads.

Strategies Related to the Employment Service

The Employment Service represents an important resource for those CETA employability development operators who are directing their clients in an active search for work on their own behalf or who are referring trainees who have completed their skills training. In either case, those operators should properly use the Employment Service in order to obtain maximum attention and effort for the client; otherwise, referrals are apt to be subject to the same consequences of limited resources as they are for other jobseekers. Advocacy for the client must be exhibited not only when dealing with employers but when dealing with other agencies as well. Consequently, CETA operators should telephone the Employment Service and insist on an appointment with an interviewer for the client, the same as they would with employers.

When the Employment Service is the agency involved in placing the graduates of a skills training course, it is imperative to involve the designated Employment Service staff well *before* the course ends. They must become familiar with the precise quality of training and the capabilities of the individual trainees in order to plan the job development effort. Too often, the easier placements are made by the training instructor or the program operator, and the residual, difficult-to-place trainees then trickle one by one into the Employment Service office, confronting a staff which has had little opportunity to develop the necessary relationship—either with the trainee or with a group of employers—to effect a placement. The need for early coordination between the training program and the placement staff cannot be overemphasized.

The most successful outcomes in San Francisco, for example, occurred when a procedure was instituted in which the staff person responsible for placement was permitted to take over a few sessions of the MDTA training classes near the completion of the course. These sessions were used to distribute work applications, discuss the way they would be completed, answer questions, provide information concerning what to say to employers about the training and what to expect on the work site, and solicit individual preferences on location and size of firm. A single staff person, meeting with the class for only a few hours, learned about the individual participants and their expectations. It was possible to assess which of the participants would need more and which less brokering intervention. By the time the class was completed, each trainee had either a list of places to contact independently or an appointment with an employer. After completion of the course, the groups were kept intact, continuing their periodic job-finding workshops (in the Employment Service's adult opportunity center offices) and reinforcing each other's efforts.

CETA clients should be referred to the Employment Service, but it is best to orient them first about the agency, its limitations and procedures, and how to use it to best advantage. Clients should be warned that the agency cannot guarantee a job because it does not create jobs. They should be advised to return frequently, to ask for an interviewer, to get on a name basis with an interviewer or counselor, and to check the job listings regularly, if they are available to the public. Employment service staff are subject to all of the usual human foibles, and the aggressive jobseeker who insists upon attention is most likely to get that attention.

Strategies Related to Want Ads

Whether the want ads are used as a source of information for job development by the program operator or as a job search tool for the jobseeker, they must be approached systematically. The user should become familiar with the organization and style of the want ad columns in a particular local newspaper. Ads should *not* be ignored, and clients who can read should be urged to develop the habit of checking the columns every day as early as possible, contacting appropriate employers immediately, and keeping a record of the effort so that the same job is not pursued again.

The same should be true of the CETA job developer. The client should be assisted to understand the abbreviations and the subtleties, and how to eliminate quickly the questionable come-ons. By watching the ads, people learn much about occupations in the local labor market and about prevailing wages and the names of companies that are hiring. The greater the sophistication one has, the more the individual CETA participant will be able to act in his or her own behalf.

For the CETA operator and for clients, this picture of labor-exchange processes and mechanisms can have important implications. There are virtually no restraints prohibiting the CETA job developer from exploiting for the benefit of clients all of the levels by which worker and job are brought together.

There have been comparatively few studies which have focused especially upon the most efficacious job-getting techniques for disadvantaged client groups. Those the authors found show that the informal methods—going directly to the employer and asking friends and relatives—are more successful for *these* individuals, just as they are for mainstream jobseekers. A study of severely disabled veterans under 30, for example, showed that a total of 57 percent got their jobs through the informal methods.[15] A study of successful methods used by WIN terminees also demonstrated a heavy reliance upon the same self-placement efforts. Plainly, the search methods that are most successful for the mainstream jobseekers are also most successful for the disadvantaged.

[15] Thurlow Wilson and John Richards, *Wanted: Jobs with Fair Pay for Veterans with Disabilities*, (Alexandria, Va.: Human Resources Research, 1974), p. 14.

4. AGENCY ROLES AND CETA GOALS

To a substantial degree, the disadvantaged in the Nation's labor markets are served by two separate but interconnected human resources service delivery systems. The U.S. Employment Service, with its 2,500 local offices across the country, is mandated to perform a labor-exchange function on behalf of all workers, including the disadvantaged. Their target population is primarily the "job-ready," however that concept is defined. Without employability development resources of its own, the Employment Service cannot enter the treatment field unless the resources come through CETA, WIN, or other special programs. The nearly 450 CETA prime sponsors are mandated to treat the symptoms of the disadvantaged population in their own communities, the nonjob-ready. With no flow of jobs automatically broadcast to it, the CETA prime sponsor is not primarily a labor exchange intermediary, either in reality or by legal definition.

Although this may appear on the surface to be a rational division in the assignment of social responsibilities from the viewpoint of the legislators, the operator at the front line of each system confronts the conflicts and problems that are inevitable when authority and roles are divided between two different entities, and divided, furthermore, on the basis of a concept as tenuous as job readiness. If there were something in the cupboard of each of the systems for everyone, it might be possible to draw a line and say, "Green-eyed people will get their jobs in this queue, and brown-eyed people will get their training and employability services in that queue." But that is not how it is in the real world, among real people. And the cupboards are usually bare in both agencies for most of the people who line up. As a result, people mill about and switch lines between agencies at will. They don't necessarily accept the agency jurisdiction, or its assessment of them, as if it were as immutable as the color of their eyes.

Research indicates that, traditionally, the Employment Service is heavily used by minorities, by new entrants to the labor market, and by low-skill jobseekers. Regardless of the judgments made by legislators or administrators, the Employment Service is the agency most readily available to this clientele, and it cannot refuse services to them under the guise of an inadequate number of funded slots in a training program. As a result, despite the legally prescribed division, the agency is providing labor exchange services to a large continuous flow of nonjob-ready individuals through its regular functions.

On the other hand, people who apply for CETA services may not be accepted into the employability development programs because (in the view of those doing the assessment) they *are* job-ready or do not otherwise meet the eligibility criteria, or because the program resources have been exhausted. The question then becomes: What does a CETA prime sponsor or program operator do with those individuals who have not participated in CETA-funded training, employment, or supportive services? What *should* they do?

In the view of the Employment Service, the direct placement of such individuals constitutes a labor-exchange function which rightfully belongs to them; therefore, such individuals should be directed to that agency. It is possible to envision a myriad of situations where that injunction would be difficult, onerous, or inadvisable: Former program participants who have lost their jobs may return to the familiar job developer who first placed them; an interviewer in a neighborhood office happens to remember a job which is precisely suited for the older woman seeking reentry. Should the necessary phone calls to arrange a referral *not* be made? Should the individuals be sent to the Employment Service office, there to contend with personnel unknown to them, much greater competition, and a good possibility that there would be no such referral? All because of a jurisdictional line?

Many organizations functioning now as CETA subcontractors first emerged during the antipoverty days as self-help, advocate programs for a specific constituency. They continue to have a public image as the advocates, the friends, the neighbors, the brothers. How does one say to a brother, "You don't fall into the right slot so I can't tell you about a job. Go to the public agency"? On such arbitrary, bureaucratic stances, public images of advocacy founder.

The other side of the same issue is equally disturbing. Experiences at the Adult Opportunity Center in San Francisco offer a useful example. Although it was an Employment Service installation, its role at that time is more realistically likened to that of the now specialized CETA operation, in regard to the composition and orientation of the staff, its alienation from the downtown offices, and its advocacy position in the community. Although it was located in a poverty ghetto com-

munity, skilled clerical or professional residents often wandered into the office looking for work. The staff, many of whom were new to the agency and whose exposure to the job world was narrowly restricted to the low-skill occupations of their clients, sensed an easy placement. Often with no better guidance than a telephone directory or the want ads, they would proceed to develop a job for those individuals or to make referrals from the job orders shared by the mainstream downtown offices (jobs which may well have remained unfilled because they were poor jobs within the occupation).

Clearly, such applicants were not getting the best service available, despite the need for an office placement count and the image of busy helpfulness. Newly graduated secretaries taking shorthand at 120 words a minute were being sent into insurance company typing pools. A person with a newly acquired degree in business was referred to a commission sales job—disguised as a management trainee position—in the want ads.

Such applicants would have received better service from the more experienced staff working in the downtown professional and clerical mainstream office, despite its bureaucratic image. Any member of that staff was more familiar with a wider range of occupations, had contacts with more firms employing such individuals, and would have offered the applicants more knowledge and skills in selecting or developing an advantageous opening than was possible at an office which focused on the disadvantaged. This is not to imply that all Employment Service staffs are necessarily better trained and more experienced than CETA operators, only that broader occupational exposure makes it more likely.

Increasing the placement count of the office did not equate with a better service to the client—it was at a cost to the client. Therefore, staff members at the Adult Opportunity Center were subsequently forbidden such easy placements in occupations unfamiliar to them. When an applicant with better skills came to the center looking for work, the appropriate interviewer in a downtown office was called on the telephone, introductory information was provided, and the telephone was turned over to the applicant to make his or her own arrangements for an appointment. At no point were jobseekers made to feel that they were being arbitrarily denied service or given a runaround because of rules. Instead, they were taken to an interviewer who had wider skills and who could do more to assist them, and they were so informed. This course of action produces the most effective placement service for the particular individual.

A large portion of the direct placement count in CETA stems from programs funded to provide placement services for specialized groups in the population. A typical dialogue between the employment service and a prime sponsor might be as follows:

Prime sponsor: Our direct placement count is high (55 percent) because we have funded the chamber of commerce to run a youth placement program, and we have funded a senior citizens program to place recipients of Social Security into part-time jobs that will provide the allowed annual additional earnings. The direct placements come from those kinds of activities that are in response to community needs.

Employment Service: The Employment Service is mandated to provide placement services. CETA is funding services that are duplicative and competitive.

Prime sponsor: It is not a duplicative service. The Employment Service does not have a special youth program, nor do they concentrate on part-time jobs for Social Security recipients.

Employment Service: That is because we don't have the resources. If CETA gave *us* the money, we could run the same special program and do a more professional job.

Could they? Should they? The Employment Service is an agency legally obliged to serve the entire population. Can, or should, the same umbrella organization provide the singular concentration on each segment of the population that wants and needs it? Similarly, should a community campaign to hire the handicapped preclude the development of a self-help group of, say, epileptics to concentrate on overcoming employer prejudice and ignorance about their particular disability? In the experience of the authors, the quality of focus on problem groups is seldom adequate or consistent when it is part of a broader mandate and is often subject to political and budgetary vagaries.

A valid question could be raised, however, about whether such highly specialized programs should properly be funded from employability development resources rather than from other programs—for the older worker, drug abuse, crime prevention, for example—whose funding is designated to address specific social problems. These are some of the questions raised when one attempts to define the turf of the two systems.

The prime sponsor may indeed be right in declaring that the services to the target population are not duplicative, but the Employment Service accurately perceives them as competitive. No matter how the law divides the people side of the labor market between the two systems, there are in fact too many people for both markets. But the same is not true of the other side of the market where there are seldom enough jobs and never enough that come into the domain of public announcement. Each job that is captured and filled by one system or intermediary mechanism is thereupon unavailable to the others.

Because the law does not proclaim which jobs belong to which agency, the terrain cannot be divided; it can only be fought over, or at best subdivided by agreement. Although cooperation between CETA and the Employment Service is strongly encouraged by the Department of Labor, it is difficult to conceive a resolution so long as placements are the primary objective of both agencies. Generally, the intermediary that gets the client first, talks the fastest, and sells best gets the prize—a job for a client and a placement count for the agency.

No amount of administrative or legislative rhetoric obscures the inherent competition of the two systems when they face the employer. Both are dealing with similar levels of skills, and what is a good and usable opportunity for one is also the same for the other. It is not for the internal labor market jobs at the top of the pyramid that these two systems compete, nor for jobs listed with professional associations, or legal secretary openings, or jobs called out by the dispatcher in the union hiring halls. Both systems are scrambling to capture

the well-paid, semiskilled, permanent blue-collar job; both are seeking to identify the company that will accept a trained but inexperienced keypunch operator—the kind of jobs best suited for a major portion of the applicant supply in both systems.

In San Francisco, for example, the CETA prime sponsor has developed an effective public relations campaign to induce employers to use CETA as their source of labor. With attractive brochures and prime-time TV spots that show an employer, in a blue-collar setting, proclaiming the value of his newly found, CETA-trained employee, the appeal to the employer is unmistakable and strong: Fill your employee needs through CETA. Although the training point is made, the basic appeal is to choose CETA over any other mechanism. In fact, the same skill level attained by the worker described in the commercial could be found in abundance in the active files of the local Employment Service office.

To the degree that the public appeal is successful, it will mean fewer opportunities in the job order box for those non-CETA job applicants registered with the Employment Service. This is especially true because that agency does not at this time advertise its hard-to-fill openings in the help wanted ads, to attract applicants, to say nothing of engaging in a public relations campaign directed at employers. If it did advertise, the spectacle of two public agencies (both funded by the Department of Labor) engaged in competing TV appeals to the same employers would be equivalent to an industry that produces two similar products creating a rivalry between those products. What is more, the dynamics are such that if an employer had been an Employment Service user, successful CETA efforts would initiate a weaning process, which suggests the shape of things to come. Whether such a process is deliberate or appropriate is not the point of this discussion—only that the potential problem be recognized.

Although the question of agency role is primarily a policy issue, it is an inescapable one in a monograph concerned with improving CETA placements. To a large degree, this is asking employers to replace one public worker-job system with another, and the staffs in both systems, while not policymakers, should be aware of the direction.

CETA Goals in Placement

A review of the literature leads to the conclusion that there is no such thing as a magic formula for placing people in jobs. None of the literature isolates and focuses attention on the placement function as a separate component. The tendency is to regard placement as a product, or output, of the total effort. Virtually all of the exemplary, innovative, and experimental efforts described here dwell on other program components, such as assessment and training. There are descriptions of methods for assessing individual attitudes and occupational goals, for training in occupational skills, techniques to produce behavioral changes, systems approaches, live-in training programs for specific target populations, motivational programs to keep trainees from dropping out or, afterward, to ensure that the disadvantaged remain on the job. Many of the programs described have good placement records, but their success is not attributed to exemplary, innovative, or model placement operations, which, viewed as output are seldom dealt with. The various Employment Service placement operations still appear to be the only documented models that might be useful to some of the CETA programs.

It seems clear that where a placement component exists, it also constitutes an input, an activity which affects results. We have therefore attempted to identify and dwell on those placement activities that have universal relevance for all programs. Moreover, the choice of emphasis is prompted by a conviction that a reappraisal and refocus on crucial turning points in the placement process will serve to move CETA toward a better realization of legislative intent, will ensure that the client is receiving first-class professional service, and could significantly increase the success rate.

Reexamining the Quality of Placement

Much of this country's economic literature and legislation presume the worker to be entirely motivated by economic considerations. CETA makes the same assumption. Its program goals for the clients, as deduced from its reporting system, are placement itself, its wage, its duration, and the relationship of the job to the client's training. The information collected about the placement outcome is limited to its economic consequences, considered to be the sole basis for job satisfaction and job stability.

In the view of the authors, this is an outdated perception of today's world; it fails to reflect the enormous changes that are occurring in people's relationship to work, on every level of society. The search for gratifications on the job that go beyond wage rates pervades all places of work, and appears more often and insistently on the union-employer negotiating table. So-called economic man is turning out to be a complex human being.

Program operators who have worked with the disadvantaged have long observed important subtleties about how people feel about work, what they expect from a job, what makes them stay on a job, and what symbols represent to them a significant betterment of their lives, other than a higher rate of pay. The hierarchy of values in the client population is seldom captured by agency criteria. The increasing participation of women in the labor market at various stages in their lives tends to increase the diversity of value systems to which employability development programs must respond. A job with flexible hours, located near the child care center, may represent a far more successful and permanent placement than a downtown job with a higher hourly wage. The goals of the giver should not continue to be widely different from those of the receiver.

It is assumed, almost by definition, that CETA participants have been frozen into low-skill occupations generally referred to as the secondary labor market, where the jobs are characterized by low pay, no future, low status, with repetitious duties and with few of the fringe benefits enjoyed by most American workers in the primary labor market. For such jobs, the cost of training new workers is so low that turnover is of little consequence to the employers.

The stated goals of CETA require something more than providing yet another job with most of the same secondary labor market characteristics, even if the pay is better. Instead, the aim is to move the trapped client at least one rung up the ladder toward greater job satisfaction and stability. Such movement may take many forms, depending upon where different individuals start and by what symbols they perceive themselves in motion.

Most people enter the labor market, either as youths or students, in jobs with secondary labor market characteristics; behind the counter of a five and dime, for instance, or pumping gas. For nearly everyone, the pathways leading out of that market require investment of time and money in the development of the individual.

Investing in oneself is one pathway; people forego immediate earnings in order to go to colleges, trade schools, and technical schools. This presumably leads to good income, high professional status, great flexibility in the marketplace and, often, self-employment. Another path involves employer investment in developing those skills and experience in the individual which are particularly fitted into the employer's needs. Individual workers, hoping for good future income and status, commit themselves to remain with the enterprise and invest the time it takes, choosing security over flexibility and possibly a better immediate return. There are other paths involving joint investments of employer and worker, such as apprenticeship programs. Government programs such as CETA or the GI Bill for veterans also represent a joint investment—society's and the individual's.

Such a concept is of enormous significance to the placement function in CETA because, unless the individual perceives in some fashion that the job offered travels along one of these paths, there will be little inclination to remain either in the program or on the job, to commit the necessary investment in time.

The Adult Opportunity Center job search workshops in San Francisco, acting as a sounding board for participants, revealed a variety of considerations other than wages, which to clients represented movement, a turning point in their lives. Location, size, and ambience of the company, status, fringe benefits, career ladder opportunities, possibilities for training through company programs, social environment, clothing to be worn, or any of a host of other considerations represented symbols leading out of the secondary labor market.

Recognizing such diversity is important when selecting firms on which to concentrate job development efforts. For the best match of client to job, potential employers should be carefully studied to determine how compatible are the opportunity and environment offered with the subtler aspirations and needs of the client.

The assumption that people stay longer and perform better on jobs that they like, and in which they feel they can succeed, was attested in the job-person matching system,[16] a universal computer language for matching lower skill blue- and white-collar workers to jobs. The goal was to effect longer lasting and more stable placements by matching the personal characteristics, experiences, and activities of the applicant to corresponding work environments. The quality of the placement, in client terms, is viewed as of paramount significance.

Beyond this, little formally derived evidence exists to support the importance of such considerations. There is a great need for serious research into the kind of firms with whom CETA graduates are placed, in relation to long-range stability and job satisfaction. Such depth analysis might go far toward developing a prediction tool to assist employability operators in their task of developing jobs for CETA participants. In any case, the success of a program is dependent upon a partnership between the client and the operator in the placement process. Such a partnership is possible only if the program operator *listens* to the client and pursues the development of a job with that individual in mind.

Making the Placement Function More Professional

Whether the outcome is a direct, an indirect, or a self-directed placement, whether the placement function is performed by the prime sponsor, the Employment Service, or other subcontractors, there are a few basic elements that must be regarded as essential for running a successful placement operation. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Planning and Coordinating

Although the various elements of a program should always be coordinated, it is most essential when there is a classroom training component involved. For example, dropout rates are bound to be higher and placement rates far lower if those staff people involved in the selection of trainees are not intimately knowledgeable about and able to impart details relating the training to the local job scene that awaits the graduate on the completion of the training.

At the very beginning, trainees must be given a true picture of the chances for being employed, the wages, and the upgrading opportunities, and they should be told that they are expected to make job search efforts on their own behalf. Otherwise, participants will have been denied the information necessary for them to make a rational decision and a serious commitment. The result of such haphazard selection is discouraging to the client and damaging to the program. Also, if the job developer has no contact with the class members prior to the completion of the course, or does not

[16]Stanley Nathanson, *Evaluation and Analysis of the Cleff Job Matching System* (Irvine, Calif.: Ultrasystems, 1975). Vol. II.

contact the training instructor for an appraisal of each participant, people will be matched to the wrong jobs.

It is possible that the responsibility for planning and coordinating the various components is better undertaken by the prime sponsors than by each program operator. With some uneasiness, one visualizes a welding course in a skills center that is composed of clients from four different subcontractors, each with its own job developer, all descending simultaneously upon the same classroom instructor or the same employers.

One of the most virulent and historic arguments against the proliferation and segmentation of employability development organizations is the resulting stream of job developers all knocking on the employer's door to capture openings. There have been endless efforts to overcome this problem. In fact, the centralization of employer relations programs within the employment service was designed to spare the employer from excessive proselytizing. However, it is not clear whether, in the process of reducing that problem, worse ones aren't created.

When asked how the problem was handled in the area, one of the most knowledgeable and successful CETA directors declared, "I don't handle it. I just let it happen. It's only the major, large employers who are so victimized, and they are prepared and equipped to take that kind of pressure." According to this view, it is better for each group to maintain its own initiative and make its own efforts than it would be to centralize and bureaucratize the placement function. Apparently, the last word has not yet been spoken on which is the lesser of the two evils.

Staff Training and Development

When the employment service first became visible in poverty communities, the great concern was to staff these offices with people who talked and looked most like the target population. The agency was culled, new people were hired, and community workers became overnight counselors. "Rapport" and "able to relate" were the qualities that were most sought in staff people, and ethnic consciousness was part of the training. Six months later, those who managed the offices would have welcomed just one trained and experienced old-time placement interviewer—despite the fact that the person might be white, bureaucratic, and even prissy—so long as the operator knew the labor market and how to call an employer, how to get to the right person, how to line up a job, how to work systematically, and how to keep a record of what went on. Moreover, it is certain that the clients would have appreciated it as much as the easy "rapping."

Systematic training of staff in the essentials of placement is a must, as are supervision, followup, and quality control. Periodic, careful review of documents reveals patterns of inadequate performance on the part of staff and provides clues for necessary training. Staff development, however, is something more than how-to. In a sense it is educating the staff to become labor market experts. This requires knowledge of occupations, local market employers, knowledge of industries, training in interviewing techniques, knowledge of job search techniques, theoretical understanding of labor exchange, knowledge of competing agencies and of the local union structure—the list is as endless as the need to learn and keep learning about any profession. The public employment service still retains the best body of procedural and training tools for placement staff that exists anywhere. Familiarity with it is the starting point for a professional staff.

Here, too, it is possible that such training and staff development programs are best arranged and coordinated by the prime sponsor for all subcontractors. In any case, the prime sponsor must insist that a staff training and quality control component be evident in all funded programs.

Tools

There is a tendency among placement staff and job developers to limit their efforts to a comparatively small group of familiar employers known to the agency. This produces tunnel vision, a limited view of the market and of the alternatives for manipulation that are possible for the client population. Whether the outcome is direct placement, indirect placement, or a strong self-help job search component, there is a vast need to widen that view.

A program operator must learn the firms that hire persons in the occupational clusters for which CETA clients are being trained, as well as where to direct people to look for their own jobs. It is necessary to know the firms that have well-developed internal markets and employee training provisions, those that provide fringe benefits or other services, the size of the firm, the usual recruitment process of each, and many other kinds of relevant information. Necessary tools, then, include a charting of the employer community, and a method of storing and retrieving such information. While such tools fall into the category of labor market information, few labor market information programs are geared to produce the type of detailed, localized data that was developed in the occupational data bank at Hayward, California,[17] for example.

To develop such tools is a major task, possibly involving a variety of techniques, and probably best attempted on a shared basis. The use of the computer for such a purpose has often been discussed. The establishment of such a tool is best initiated by the prime sponsor since it would surely involve the participation of the employment service.

However, even a single program operator can develop innovative approaches toward the development of tools. When job search workshops were being conducted in the Adult Opportunity Center, it was necessary at the end of each session to provide each workshop participant with names of firms to contact the following day. To the workshop leaders, a few of whom had been long-time employment service employees working in the same labor market, it was a grim moment.

[17] C. Aller, D. Mayal, and D. Roberts, *Evaluation of the Hayward Manpower Delivery System Concept* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Olympus Research Centers, 1974).

Despite their general knowledge and experience, they did not know enough about the employers in the area to determine their appropriateness for a particular person. And how many times is it possible to suggest a visit to the public utility companies?

In response to the immediate need, staff assembled a year's supply of mainstream cancelled orders and arranged them by occupational code. The old job orders not only provided easy access to the names of firms which hired in particular occupations but also information about hiring requirements, rates of pay, the names of the people to see and other job-relevant facts. The names of these firms were given to workshop participants as leads for the next day's search.

In addition, there is a body of literature relevant to job search which should be assembled and made available to the jobseeker as well as to the staff. This would include material produced by both the Department of Labor and the State Employment Service, independently published books such as "What Color Is Your Parachute?",[18] descriptions of other job search programs, and employer-produced brochures about job getting. This is not to overlook the standard operating tools in any placement function. There is no better inventory of existing material than that which is used by the public employment service.

Innovation, Evaluation, and Research

Thus far, the literature reveals a paucity of information about new and effective approaches to the placement of the disadvantaged. Experiments and innovations have seldom been systematically studied, evaluated, and documented either by the operators or others. Nevertheless, such a body of information needs to be developed. Furthermore, it is time to examine and test some of the assumptions which have heretofore been accepted at face value. We know, for example, little about the employers who hire CETA graduates. What are the general characteristics of employers who participate in employability development programs? How are they different from those who do not? How much of the employing community is involved? Are most of the placements occurring among the same few large employers? What are the particular characteristics of the firms or the occupations that produce longer lasting placements and provide greater job satisfaction? Such knowledge would give direction to a placement operation. Despite the demonstrated need of program operators to have detailed characteristics of the local labor market, this information tends to get low priority in relation to aggregative data.

An example of research need which bears repeating is to test whether a strong, well-supported, self-help job search component is cost-effective, and how its success compares with other treatment and placement methods.

Thus, there is a clear need for research, evaluation, and documentation of new approaches and new tools on a national scope. Although excellent evaluations of their own programs have been performed by local prime sponsors, and such efforts could undoubtedly be proliferated, local efforts are not apt to have national impact. It is questionable whether a single prime sponsor would have the necessary resources to mount and document a major research effort. This is clearly the exclusive province of the Department of Labor.

It is for that Federal agency to provide opportunities and resource incentives for prime sponsors and others to evaluate the relative effectiveness of the various methods they try, and to document new approaches which appear to show promise. Only the Department of Labor can establish an atmosphere in which new approaches to employability development problems are encouraged, tested and, if found of value, disseminated throughout the country. It should not be necessary for each new program to stumble into every pit in which its predecessors have fallen. New programs should have a chance to fail in new ways.

Reexamining the Medical Model

In almost every area of life, people today are exhibiting less and less passivity toward discomfort, discomfort which in other times may have been borne with stoic resignation. The effects of poverty, of dull, repetitive, and unrewarding work, of bureaucratic arbitrariness, of race and sex discrimination, of abuse as consumers of goods and services are all being resisted in a variety of ways: a neighborhood group fighting a high-rise; a class action suit against a raise in utility rates; health care patients negotiating for an ombudsman to represent their needs to the professional administrators.

People are insisting on greater participation in their own lives and expressing increased unwillingness to put themselves docilely into the hands of the essentially unequal, and often exploitive, professional delivery systems. These rising expectations, and the increasing need for human services, fall upon systems with a dearth of resources with which to respond.

Self-help groups acting on their own behalf are visible in almost every area of human need. Synanon, Alcoholics Anonymous, and Weight Watchers have invaded the province of the medical and psychiatric professions, and their relative success attests to the enormous strength that people get from one another when they are pitting themselves against a mutual problem. The proliferation of self-help activities symbolizes all of these social tendencies: the increased sense of potency that people exhibit toward controlling their own lives, the inability of delivery systems to meet today's needs, and the debunking of professional inviolability. The unchallenged awe with which people once eyed the professional helper is slowly dissipating.

The medical model (which is itself under assault with the development of medical self-help groups) has long dominated the employability development field. In a sense, it is fast becoming a remnant of the past. Even the words that pervade the legislation—assessment, outreach, counseling, placement, supportive services—all smack of recipient passivity. It is

[18] Richard N. Bolles, *What Color Is Your Parachute? A Practical Manual for Job Hunters and Career Changers* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972).

ironic that CETA organizations, many of which originated as advocacy groups during the antipoverty era, now find themselves in the same traditional stance generally adopted by governmental delivery systems.

The most effective programs in the employability development field have been those which abandoned the model of passive recipient, waiting for the physician's scalpel to do the fixing, or the assembly line model, where each technician along the route tinkers, tightens, adjusts, and paints bright blue at the end. These exemplary programs clearly adhered to the principle that the employability development experience can be made self-sustaining for the client who is an active partner, puts forth effort, and knows from the beginning that he or she must.

Yet neither of the two delivery systems has seriously entered into this arena, devoted major resources to develop its techniques and tools, or focused on such an approach. Although the employment service may be constrained from self-help activities by its accomplishment measurements, CETA is not. It is CETA that can fill a social need which is not now being filled by any other public agency. True, CETA legislation authorizes the medical model approaches, but there is nothing to prevent a CETA program from reexamining *all* of its components in the light of more participatory group methods, including such activities as assessment, selection for occupational training, counseling and, of course, finding a job.

This, indeed, is neither a duplicative nor a competitive role. CETA is in a unique position to provide, at the very least, job search assistance to any and all of its users, participants or not. There is no need for programs to turn away applicants because there are no training slots, no need to offer only an apology, or to send them back into the circular search with the same few job sources.

A concern with the quality of placements, making the placement function professional, and encouraging clients to act on their own behalf, does not in any way exhaust the possibilities for CETA. However, taken together, we believe such a focus would go far toward making current efforts more responsive to reality.

Perhaps more than any other people-serving government programs, employability development programs are vulnerable to rapid change—reactive to political, economic, and social upheavals—and a look at the past only confirms the impermanence of concepts. And how can one predict in what manner a severe winter and a threatening drought will affect the job situation? Different political philosophies reach for different mixes: One favors enlargement of resources for public service jobs under titles II and VI, while another prescribes greater emphasis on employability services.

Today's "must" is tomorrow's "maybe," and program operators should know only that the future will be no more stable than the past. Change is inevitable and difficult, but it is vibrant. Within this dynamic framework CETA has an enormous freedom to move, to respond, and to reflect new urgencies.

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